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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1844.

• N^o. CLXII.

ART. I.—1. *Narrative of Events connected with the publication of the 'Tracts for the Times,' with Reflections on existing Tendencies to Romanism, and on the present Duties and Prospects of Members of the Church.* By the Rev. WILLIAM PALMER, M.A. 8vo. Oxford: 1843.

2. *The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent. A Sermon preached before the University, in the Cathedral Church of Christ, in Oxford, on the Fourth Sunday after Easter.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew. 8vo. Oxford: 1843.

3. *Dr Pusey and the University of Oxford: A Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.* By the Rev. J. GARBETT, M.A. 8vo. London: 1843.

4. *Some Remarks on the Sermon of the Rev. Dr Pusey, lately preached and published at Oxford.* By SAMUEL LEE, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. 1843.

5. *An Essay on the Miracles Recorded in the Ecclesiastical History of the Early Ages.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D. 8vo. Oxford: 1843.

6. *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda, de rebus gestis Samsonis,*
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Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Edmundi. Nunc primum typis mandata, curante JOHANNE GAGE ROKEWODE. Londini. Sump-tibus Societatis Camdenensis. 1840.—Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century, as exemplified in the Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond. Translated, with Notes, and an Introduction. By J. E. Tomlins, Esq. 8vo. London: 1844.

7. *The Lives of the English Saints.*—1. *The Life of St Stephen, Abbot, Founder of the Cistercian Order.*—2. *The Family of St Richard the Saxon.*—3. *St Augustine of Canterbury.* 12mo. London: 1844.

8. *Ancient Christianity, and the Doctrines of the Oxford 'Tracts for the Times.' Supplement, (Part 9.)* 8vo. London: 1844.

9. *The Ideal of a Christian Church, considered in comparison with existing Practice; containing a Defence of certain Articles in the 'British Critic,' in Reply to Remarks in Mr Palmer's Narrative.* By the Rev. W. G. WARD, M.A., Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford. London: 1844..

10. *A Charge to the Clergy of Dublin and Glandelagh, delivered in June 1843.* By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. *To which is appended a Petition to the House of Lords, praying for a Church Government.*

THERE seems abundant reason to conclude that that fair structure of 'Catholicism,' which the ecclesiastical architects of Oxford have been for some years so diligent in rearing, is in a condition of what is called instable equilibrium. Sundry symptoms of this have lately disclosed themselves, and justify the suspicion that, in resting it on tradition and antiquity, its builders have selected an unhappy foundation. The fabric already leans visibly from the perpendicular, and schismatical rents and fissures appear in it from top to bottom.

Since we last called the attention of our readers to the curious phenomenon, popularly named 'Puseyism,' some important events have occurred in its history; on which, we trust, our readers will be neither surprised nor displeased at our venturing to offer some remarks—having already indicated our opinion, that the phenomenon itself is one of the most remarkable of modern times.

During the years 1842-43, symptoms of a more energetic reaction against the doctrines of the Oxford school had unequivocally manifested themselves. A considerable number of the Bishops, much to their honour, and, we will even add, with much magnanimity, considering the soothing flatteries and obsequious

professions of obedience, of which the 'Tracts' were full, expressed themselves with various degrees of severity against its characteristic doctrines—with undisguised alarm at its obvious tendencies. Simultaneously with their Charges and Sermons, appeared a number of very valuable publications from the pens of private authors; while, at the same time, the periodical press opened a fiercer, and, in some instances, unexpected fire. A few weeks after our own, not very brief, observations on the subject, an article of equal length appeared in a great southern contemporary,* in which the *spirit* of the Oxford school was denounced as essentially Romanist, and not a few of its most cherished symbols and ceremonies (recovered from 'Catholic antiquity,' with so much zeal and assiduity) profanely designated—'fooleries!'

But these attacks from without were contemporaneous with yet more fatal signs of disunion from within. It was a more easy task to originate the movement, than to control it. Those tendencies, which were not obscurely indicated to every man of moderate sagacity, even in its earlier stages—which Protestants proclaimed with dread, and Romanists hailed with triumph, and which were denied by none but those who had an interest in denying them—came gradually into fuller play. It soon appeared that, in this, as in other cases, pretensions to 'Catholic unity' were not incompatible with the widest diversities of opinion; and that the amplest scope was unhappily permitted to the exercise of private judgment, in determining what is that only system of Catholic truth—which always and for ever excludes it!

All this is strikingly illustrated in the curious 'Narrative' of Mr Palmer, himself one of the originators of the Oxford movement. He shows that, even during the publication of the 'Tracts,' there were some of their advocates who were very uneasy at the successive 'developments' of Catholic doctrine; who felt qualms and fears which they scarcely managed to suppress, and preached lessons of moderation which were never listened to. But these 'developments' were far outdone by those which afterwards appeared in the *British Critic*, and which at length compelled the long-enduring Mr Palmer to break silence. That Journal, as the perpetual advocate of the Tractarians, when their memorable series was suppressed—as partly supported by some of the original writers of the Tracts—and as having received, for some of its greatest extravagances, the appropriate thanks and plaudits of

* *Quarterly Review*, May 1843.

Mr Newman himself, may be considered to have been a sort of quarterly continuation of these Tracts. It, too, is now defunct, having expired last Christmas; but not until it had purged itself from the very last dregs and feculence of Protestantism, and prepared itself to depart in an overpowering 'odour' of Catholic sanctity. Of its very last Number but one, the principal Romanist Periodical in these realms had politely said—'We may say that 'for some time past we have read the *British Critic* with great interest; to which we may add, as Catholics, that our pleasure in 'perusing it has increased in each successive Number; but the one 'now before us surpasses all its predecessors, not in the proportion 'observable between any former ones, but in such a degree as almost to defy any comparison whatever.'* Admirable dialecticians must they have been on behalf of the Church of England, who could extort such praises even from her very enemies; and thrice candid the enemies who could thus award them! 'Behold 'how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together 'in unity!'

In defence of the statements of the *British Critic*, and in opposition to Mr Palmer's Pamphlet, Mr Ward (for some time, we believe, the Editor of that periodical, and author of the greater part of the obnoxious articles) has recently published a volume, which may be considered the latest 'development' of all. His conduct offers a practical exemplification of the principles of the 'Tracts,' of the most odious kind, and justifies the worst fears that were ever expressed or entertained of their tendency.

The extent to which he carries his principles of subscription may be estimated, when we mention that, amongst other things, he explains away the *natural* sense of the Twelfth Article, and subscribes it in 'a non-natural sense!'[†]—we are quite certain he does it in a 'non-moral sense';[†] and that he understands the Nineteenth Article, which declares that the Roman church hath erred in matters of faith, to mean—not that the Roman church hath erred in matters of faith, but that some *individual* members of it have departed more or less from the faith![‡] But the fol-

* *Dublin Review*, September 1843, p. 114.

† 'Our Twelfth Article is as plain as words can make it on the evangelical side: (observe, in particular, the word 'necessarily':) of course I think its natural meaning may be explained away, for I subscribe it myself in a non-natural sense.'—P. 593.

‡ 'It has been considered by some that subscription to our Nineteenth Article requires the formation and expression of an opinion, that the formal doctrine of the Roman church is erroneous in some particulars;

lowing paragraph fully explains his views :—‘ For my own part ‘ I think it would not be right to conceal, indeed I am anxious ‘ openly to express my almost firm and undoubting conviction, that ‘ were we, as a church, to pursue such a line of conduct as has ‘ here been sketched, in proportion as we did so, we should be ‘ taught from above to discern and appreciate the plain marks of ‘ divine wisdom and authority in the Roman church—to repent, ‘ in sorrow and bitterness of heart, our great sin in deserting her ‘ communion, and to sue humbly at her feet for pardon and res- ‘ toration.’—(P. 473.) Yet, in the same paragraph, he tells us with a simplicity truly admirable—‘ If it be *granted* that the aim- ‘ ing at such objects, as I have ventured to put forward as de- ‘ sirable, implies of itself no set purpose of Romanizing our ‘ church, I must beg leave to doubt whether any single one of ‘ her members entertains any such purpose.’ We quite agree with him ; if he *can* get any one to concede so modest a postulate, he may well expect a cordial admission of the inference.

Mr Ward elsewhere contends for his liberty of private judgment in the following terms :—‘ Let Mr Williams, if he so ‘ please, still publish his opinion that human support and human comfort were needful to St Mary after our Lord’s ascension. Let Dr Hook continue to call Roman Catholics ‘ Mariolaters ; but let others have equal liberty, and with no ‘ greater remonstrance, to honour St Mary as the highest and ‘ purest of creatures, to regard the Roman church with affection ‘ and reverence, and to hold a Pope’s dogmatic decree as at least ‘ exempt from our criticism and comment. It is impossible for ‘ our opinions to pain them, more than theirs pain us.’—‘ That ‘ a sustained and vigorous attack on the principles of the Re- ‘ formation is the only course by which this object can be obtained, is my deep and certain conviction. I mean an humble and ‘ religious carrying out of those great principles which the Reformation denied—obedience and faith.’—(P. 100-588.)

His work is full of pious sentiments on the duties of obedience and faith—and both, in his case, are of an unparelled character. His faith is such, that he can swear assent to Articles in a ‘ non-natural sense ;’ and his obedience is such, that he will yield allegiance neither to that church to which he has actually

but a very little consideration will show that no one is at all committed by this Article to so *painfully presumptuous* a sentiment.’ He then gives his interpretation, and adds—‘ If this appears the solemn annunciation of a mere truism, I quite admit that it is so.’—P. 100.

sworn it, nor to that which, by his own admission, has the greatest claim to it. He resembles the wife, who said she was willing enough to *obey* her husband, only she would not be *ruled*. Disclaiming the right of 'private judgment,' his opinions, viewed in conjunction with his position, proclaim a mind filled to overflow with crotchets and inconsistencies.

The two principal men of the movement are in a condition almost equally anomalous. Dr Pusey, having, in the course of his 'developments,' affirmed, in his celebrated sermon on the 'Eucharist,' doctrine which the University authorities condemned as heterodox, has been ordered to expiate his offence by a two years' silence. It is true he affirmed, with engaging innocence, that he was not at all aware of having advanced aught at variance with the formularies of the Church of England. But his opinions, so far as we can discover them, as well as his particular line of defence, we shall more particularly consider hereafter.

Mr Newman having retracted almost all his objections to the Church of Rome, from which, however, he is still a separatist, and having *not* retracted any of the severe things he has uttered against the Church of England, in which he still remains—having also, in his zeal for the dark ages, undertaken the defence of an indefinite number of primitive and *medieval* miracles, and affixed his Editorial *imprimatur* on a series of publications advocating the religious system of the middle ages, and, amongst other things, the supremacy of the Apostolic see, (which, nevertheless, he will not obey,) may be considered to be by this time a Church of himself; and if he proceeds in this felicitous accumulation of paradoxes and anomalies, will probably have to employ at last language something like that of the dying Hegel. 'Alas!' said the philosophic mystic, 'I shall leave behind me but one 'man in all Germany who understands my doctrines, and *he* does 'not *understand* them!'

Mr Palmer is anxious to show that, within the last two or three years, 'a new school' * has been formed at Oxford. Alas! for

* 'Within the last two or three years, however, a new school has made its appearance. The Church has unhappily had reason to feel the existence of a spirit of dissatisfaction with her principles, of enmity to her reformers, of recklessness for her interests. We have seen, in the same quarter, a spirit of almost *servility* and *adulation* to Rome, an enthusiastic and exaggerated praise of its merits, an appeal to all deep feelings and sympathies in its favour, a tendency to look to Rome as the model and the standard of all that is beautiful and correct in art, all that

the rapid changes of the one unchangeable Catholicism—the original school is but little more than ten years old!—To us it appears clearly enough that the ‘new school’ is but a consistent and natural ‘development’ (to use once more the favourite term of these gentlemen) of the ‘old.’ Mr Palmer seems to be unconscious that the more recent extravagances are the legitimate, the inevitable fruit of those high church principles—of that reverence for antiquity and tradition, which he still continues to extol. Yet his own misgivings, soon after his more zealous or more persevering coadjutors entered upon their career, and the emphatic predictions of both Protestants and Romanists as to the result, ought to have made him suspect that his ‘new school’ is but an expansion of the ‘old.’ That he and others had no *intention* of promoting such a result, he loudly affirms, and we care not to deny it; that the principles advocated involved that result—that they were the acorn, the other the oak—is all that we maintain; and this connexion, long since asserted by almost every body, experience has abundantly confirmed.

To the argument, however, on which we are about to insist, it little matters whether Mr Palmer’s assertion of a ‘new school’ be correct or not—whether there be one Oxford school or two, or twenty—whether recent extravagances are but ‘developments’ of the original system, or new formations upon it—whether there be one pretended system with hopelessly discordant expounders thereof, or diverse systems, each pretending to be the only one possessing catholic authenticity. We say we accept either of these alternatives; and, in either case, proceed to ask—‘But what becomes of that fair vision of the *one* indivisible Catholic system—professed by the *one* visible church of all ages, which was to be so easily deduced by the aid of antiquity and tradition—which was to require no exercise of private judgment—‘or rather which superseded and forbade it, and which we might have expected that the Oxford school itself would have delivered with some degree of unanimity?’ Their positions were sufficiently hazardous and self-contradictory even before their present

is sublime in poetry, all that is elevated in devotion. . . . In conversation, remarks have been sometimes heard indicating a disposition to acknowledge the supremacy of the see of Rome, to give way to *all its claims*, however extreme. . . . And in the same spirit those who are in any way opposed to the highest pitch of Roman usurpations, are sometimes looked on as little better than heretics.’—Palmer’s *Narrative*, p. 44.

differences. Of that 'one visible church,' as constituted by themselves, consisting of Romanists, Greeks, and Anglicans, they could not persuade one hundredth part to admit that they, the very authors of the figment, belonged to the Catholic church at all—and now it appears they cannot agree about the one system of truth amongst themselves! Singular illustration of the infallible guidance of tradition, and of the danger of admitting the exercise of private judgment! 'Our judge of controversies,' as Chillingworth truly said of the dispute respecting Papal infallibility, 'has become itself our greatest controversy.'

Despite the attacks on the Oxford system from without, and the formidable symptoms of disorganization from within, we have seen it recently maintained, in an elaborate Paper,* attributed to Mr Gladstone, and which bears strong internal marks of his pen—having all the cloud-like formation, and unsubstantial mistiness of his style—that the cause of 'Catholic principles' is still auspiciously advancing. This is an assertion which, in the absence of any definition or catalogue of these principles, it is very easy to make and very difficult to disprove—for we are too familiar with the way in which these vague terms are employed by such writers, not to know that they may mean *any thing*—and still more frequently, nothing. With regard to the diversities of opinion in the party itself, the extreme views recently manifested, this writer admits and laments them: those who hold them form, he tells us, the '*extrême droite*' of the Oxford school—but they do not interfere with the progress of 'catholicism.' 'When we speak,' says he, 'of the country and of the church at large, it is evident the body, as a body, moves forward from year to year, we might almost say from day to day, in the *line of catholicism*.' For any definite meaning which such misty language conveys—and the article is throughout composed in it—we verily believe that, if it had been stated that the nation was moving forward from day to day in the line of a transcendental curve, it would have conveyed just as intelligible a notion to sober-minded readers.

The fallacy consists in manœuvring, so to speak, with the word 'Catholicism' as if it indicated some fixed, well-defined point to which all things are tending, and then allowing each reader tacitly to substitute his own notion of it for a universal one. The fallacy proclaims itself the moment we ask—'What are Catholic principles?' We then find they are just those of the present ex-

* *Foreign and Colonial Review*. No. IV. October 1843.

positor, whoever he may be. Each in turn exercises the calumniated right of private judgment, while all, in the same breath, repudiate it.*

No sooner do we force an answer to this awkward query, 'What is Catholicism?' than the silent unanimity, which had been maintained in using certain terms without a definite meaning, vanishes in a Babel-like confusion. 'You will find it in its integrity, stereotyped in the Tridentine decrees,' exclaim the millions of Rome. 'You will find no such thing,' coolly reply the millions of the Greek church. 'If you want to find Catholicism in its purity, you must consult one of our patriarchs.' 'Either church will indeed answer the purpose,' blandly admits the more advanced disciple of the Oxford school; 'but as each is apt to include in catholicism somewhat *more* than is catholic, you can find it in its purity only in the Oxford Tracts—with the addition, "if so be," of certain developments, "so to speak," which the writers have, "as it were," reserved.' 'You will find it there,' rejoins a more timid disciple of the same school, 'if you will deduct certain doctrines which they have *not* reserved.' 'Grieved and humbled I am,' says Mr Gladstone, 'that our beloved friends have gone somewhat beyond that precise point at which, undoubtedly, absolute and unchangeable catholicism is found.'—Each employs the term 'Catholicism' as Mr Thwackum the term 'religion.' 'When I mention religion,' says that worthy, 'I mean the Christian religion; and not only the Christian religion, but the Protestant religion; and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England.' Thus, while each abjures his private judgment in fixing this fugitive 'catholicism,' we find in fact we have nothing else. It is Rome—it is Greece—it is Anglicanism—it is a species of Anglicanism—it is a subordinate species of Anglicanism—it is a theory of Mr Newman—of Mr Palmer—of Mr Gladstone—but still, be assured, it is all *Catholicism*!

Nor is this all. Many hundreds of those authorized guides of the Anglican church, whom the Tractarians themselves *admit* to be 'authorized,' exclaim—'All these parties are in delusion

* So ludicrously do these writers play with this abused term, 'Catholic,' that we observe some of them do not scruple to speak of the church as *more or less* Catholic at one period than another, (Newman's *Essay*, p. 35;) forgetting that Catholicism can have no degrees, and that the church must, on their principles, be either Catholic or not. It would be just as logical to speak of triangles which are eminently triangular, or of a universality which is more or less than universal!

‘together. Even Mr Gladstone’s “church principles” are no ‘more than ancient superstitions, not only without the warrant, ‘but against the whole spirit of Scripture.’ Amongst these ‘authorized guides’ are included Bishops, and even an Archbishop; and the same sentiments are echoed by thousands of the members of that ‘branch’ of the Catholic Church, to which the Tractarians themselves belong.

Such is the answer to the question, ‘What is Catholicism?’ *C’est moi*, reply half-a-dozen distinct churches, and half-a-dozen variously judging members of the same church.

These diversities of result afford a most irrefragable proof, of the futility of the attempt to deduce the one catholic system from antiquity and tradition. The attempt is in fact an *experimentum crucis*; for the result, by the very terms of the theory, can be but one; all diversity is excluded. The problem is not an indeterminate equation; it admits of but one solution. In arriving, therefore, as they have done, at different results, these pretenders to catholicism may well all be wrong, for error is infinite; but they cannot all be right, for truth is but one. If it be replied, that though all cannot be right, one is so, it is sufficient to ask, *which* is in that happy predicament; and whether we are to regard Mr Ward, Mr Newman, Mr Palmer, or Mr Gladstone, as the one infallible? When these precious logicians have decided this question, (which they well know is but to invite them to a restatement of their difficulties,) it will be time enough to consider the value of the all-reconciling theory.

Such diversity of result was inevitable. Professedly rejecting their individual judgment, these dreamers yet had nothing else to trust to. It was still a question of *interpretation*—as much so as with the Protestant—only with the pleasant addition that it was to extend over a whole library, instead of a book, embrace evidence infinitely more complicated, and terminate in but one result. The decrees of Councils and the writings of Fathers, as Chillingworth well observed, are at least as difficult to be interpreted as the Bible; and it may be modestly conjectured, that inspired men *could* express themselves with as much perspicuity as even a Chrysostom or a Jerome. The theory of the Oxford Tractarians—at least as that theory was originally developed in the remote antiquity of some seven years ago—only increased the difficulty which they affirm so insurmountable to the Bible Protestant. All this, Dr Wiseman, who is, of course, anxious to arrive at something more stable—even an ever-present oracle, a perpetual infallible guide—is not slow to perceive or admit. ‘Antiquity, as deposited in the writings of the early ages, is a

' dead letter, as much as the Bible ; it requires a living interpreter ' no less. It has its obscurities, its perplexities, its apparent contradictions as much : it requires a guide no less, to conduct us through its mazes. It cannot step in, and decide between conflicting opinions and rival claims ; it can at most be a code which requires a judge to apply it. It is more voluminous, more complex, more uncompact, than Scripture ; it needs more some methodizing and harmonizing authoritative expounder.' *

Having, in our former Article, given more space to the subject of Tradition and the Fathers, than is usually bestowed upon it even in works which formally treat of the Oxford Tract system, we do not feel disposed to resume it here. In that Article, we detailed the causes which must inevitably lead to the diversities of opinion which have appeared. We also examined the much vaunted rule of Vincentius Lirinensis ; and after our best, and, we will add, honest efforts to understand and expound it, we were compelled to dismiss it as utterly vague and uncertain. We showed, that, if taken without any limitations, it is a manifest absurdity ; and if with all the limitations it requires, as manifest a nullity : that at the very best, as fully expounded by its author, it is but a barren truism—assuring us that the Catholic faith is—the faith of Catholics, and reducing the great problem we have to solve, to this—' *Given the Catholic faith, to find it !*' That we have proved this to the satisfaction of every unbiassed mind, in the Article referred to, we humbly venture to believe. If not, we invite a refutation of our reasonings.

But though we believe that there are few propositions out of the exact sciences susceptible of such complete demonstration as the uncertainty and vagueness of all such methods of extracting the one system of Catholicism from tradition and antiquity,†

* *High Church Claims ; or, a Series of Papers on the Oxford Controversy.* By Nicholas Wiseman. 1841, p. 37.

† Next to Chillingworth, we know none of our older authors by whom the uncertainty of tradition, and the egregious folly of trusting to it, have been more completely demonstrated than by Jeremy Taylor, in his *Liberty of Prophesying*, and his *Dissuasive from Popery*. His learning is so profuse, and his imagination so brilliant, as to throw into the shade his other splendid endowments. But when he does himself full justice, his logic is quite equal to his rhetoric.—Of modern refutations of the theory of tradition, or some of its main principles, the present controversy has elicited many worthy of the highest commendation. They will, we trust, be useful in promoting the ultimate settlement of this great question, when the works which immediately provoked them are read no more. Archbishop Whately has touched on the subject in

and the impossibility of obtaining uniform results, even with the aid of Vincentius to boot, the most striking argument to the popular mind is perhaps the *fact* of the diversities in which the attempt has actually issued. There are, first, thousands of unquestionable learning, candour, and perspicacity, who deny that any stable and uniform system can be deduced from such sources at all; and secondly, those who affirm that such a system *can* be deduced, cannot agree about what it is.

As variety of result was inevitable, so we need not wonder at the successive 'developments' to which the advocates of the theory have been driven; or that each has issued in a nearer approximation to Rome. Rome is, in fact, the only port on that open and stormy coast. The period called 'Antiquity' is so absolutely uncertain—the exaggerations of scriptural doctrines and rites into errors and corruptions, so gradual—the errors and cor-

various publications, with all his characteristic clearness, precision, and ability. Mr Powell's *Tradition Unveiled*, with the 'Supplement,' are well worthy of general perusal. Mr Alexander, in his *Anglo-Catholicism not Apostolical*, (chap. II., sec. 3, 4,) has treated the subject with equal skill and moderation. To these authors it would be most ungrateful not to add Dr Conybeare—*Bampton Lectures, for the year 1839, Analytical Examination of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*. His work is one of the most candid and able we have ever read. It incidentally takes up, and with admirable moderation, the main questions connected with the claims of tradition, and the authority of the Fathers; and though the lenience towards patristic infirmities and extravagances is carried quite as far as historical justice will allow, the conclusions arrived at are only the more striking on that very account. The work is not printed with an accuracy worthy of the Oxford press. To a small list of errata at the end, we have added about a score in the copy we perused. This we mention for the sake of one, which, in its way, is a literary curiosity. In a note, p. 166, we find an allusion to "the evocation of the spirit of *Saul* by the witch of Endor!" It is singular that so gross a blunder should have been written and copied by the author—seen in the proof—seen in the revise—read and re-read by the printer, and yet have passed without detection. If such errors, we are ready to exclaim, can creep into deliberately printed documents, what can we expect from tradition?

There are many other works on various points of this great controversy, (some written by authors *in* the church, and some by authors *out* of it,) which want of space alone prevents us from noticing with deserved approbation. Some of the principal were mentioned in our former article, and others will hereafter be alluded to. But the controversy is so voluminous, that it is impossible for a Quarterly Journal to criticize half the works with which the press is teeming.

ruptions themselves so concatenated—the citations and contractions from the Fathers so conflicting—that it is much more easy to admit the theory of ‘development,’ now so much in vogue, and to regard Romanism as a consistent evolution of primitive Christianity, than to determine the point at which ‘Tradition’ is exhausted, and ‘Antiquity’ becomes modern. Having no reason to stop at any one point, these theorists are led on, according as caution or zeal predominates, from the second century to the third—from the third to the fourth or fifth, and so on. It was for this reason that we stated in our previous article, that ‘thousands of Anglicans were contending for the system of ‘the fourth or fifth century, and even there felt their footing insecure.’ Not a few have now conceded the supremacy of the Apostolic see, and seem to want no one thing which should make them return to the bosom of Rome, except the troublesome virtues—honesty and courage.

For a long time, indeed, these writers were contented to use that plausible generality of ‘antiquity,’ just as they use the word ‘catholicism’—as if it were quite determinate, when nothing is less so. One might imagine, to hear some of their expressions, that antiquity was as definite a measure of time as a century or a day; that there was no more dispute about it than about a yard of tape, or a pound of tea. But when we consult Mr Newman, he sends us away disconsolate, by assuring us that the ‘era of purity’ cannot be fixed within a nearer approximation than four hundred years. Some will perversely take the term ‘antiquity’ to mean the first two centuries—others the first three—others four; and at these points pitch their frail tents—perfectly convinced in their own minds that there they have found that ‘Catholic consent’ which excludes all exercise of private judgment—of which their *own* private judgment is of course their infallible informant.

The result corresponds. One man adopts this ‘development’ of the apostolic *ἡθος*, as Mr Froude expressed it—another that. One man clutches a fragment of antiquity as a precious prize, which another looks at with contempt. Whatever time has ‘brought down in his huge drag-net,’ as Milton phrases it, is carefully raked out of the turbid stream, and appropriated by some one or other as a treasure. It is a scrap of apostolic doctrine—a sacred symbol—a martyr-relic.

It is very easy for writers, by a careful abstinence from definitions, and a tacit reference to their *own opinions*, as if they were a standard, (each man they address of course doing the same friendly office for himself,) to assume the precise point in the movement, where alone resides Catholic truth; and on each side

of which is error, either in excess or by defect. This, as we have already remarked, is the fallacy into which Mr Gladstone has fallen. But there are in fact a hundred such points, and those perpetually shifting. At each stands, for a moment, some one who charitably warns those who are in advance, and benignly beckons onward those who are behind—assuring both parties, that in that very spot where he has planted his foot, is the *juste milieu*—the golden mean of Catholic truth. Each man assumes his visible horizon to be a substantial limit, and threatens those who venture beyond it, with the fate with which Columbus was menaced by some philosophers of his day, that they will infallibly topple over the world's edge into the infinite void.

In fact, however, the whole is in motion—it is a caravan of pilgrims, having, of course, its front and its rear; and those who pitch their tents at night, imagining that they have taken up their abode for ever, are by no means certain that they will not be a stage nearer Rome before the next sun goes down. The confidence which the more moderate may feel that they have attained the place where enquiry terminates, and weary faith may repose herself, ought to be abated, when they reflect that the originators of the movement—those who have studied their common principles most intensely—who first expounded them—have already gone furthest, and have been convinced that the limit of Catholicity still lies beyond them. They are surely as likely as any to understand the common principles of the party, and upon these principles to be in the right. And we firmly believe that on those principles they *are* right—consistent in their progress, though not in any one position they have assumed; they must say to Antiquity—

‘A little onward, lend thy guiding hand

To these dark steps—a little further on’—

and they will then find themselves, where alone they can be fully consistent, within the sheltering embraces of their Roman mother.

At the existence of the now acknowledged tendencies to Romanism in a large portion of those who have advocated the ‘Oxford Tract’ system, none ought to wonder. As we have seen, the difficulties of applying their theory—the impossibility of arriving at one uniform result—will naturally prepare the way for such consequences. To allow weight to the tolerably concurrent opinion of antiquity, as a probably correct interpretation of some few very subordinate points in which Scripture may be regarded as obscure, is one thing; quite another it is to regard it as *authoritative*, and that not only where Scripture is obscure, but where it says nothing, or even seems to say the contrary. Those who maintain this—who believe that tradition affords a supplementary

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Revelation co-ordinate in authority with Scripture—and who attempt to deduce the integral system of Catholic Christianity from it, find the difficulties in the evidence so insurmountable—such unreasonableness in stopping at any one point—such an equality of plausible arguments for the doctrines they would fain retain, and the doctrines they would fain reject—such variations in the views of different advocates of the very same principles, that they are apt, in very weariness of mind, to throw themselves into the arms of that church where enquiries are silenced, if not satisfied, and doubts are extinguished, though not solved. . The system of the Oxford Tracts is in fact an inclined plane, and he who plants his foot upon it may think himself fortunate, if he does not ultimately find himself, after many gyrations, and with much vertigo, at the very bottom.

This tendency to Romanism has been, doubtless, also increased by the intolerable absurdity of the position, which the Oxford Tract system compelled its advocates to occupy. According to that theory, the Catholic church is ONE AND VISIBLE, and consists of the 'independent branches' of the Romish, Greek, and Anglican churches. Now, the two first, after having excommunicated each other, both agree in excommunicating the last, and deny it the title of Catholic altogether. The Tractarians are equally unsuccessful in gaining unanimous assent to their views, even amongst the Catholics of their *own* church—thousands of whom, including, as we have said, Bishops and an Archbishop among them, deny both that the Catholic church *is one visible* community, and that the system of doctrines which these divines would impute to it, is a *true system*.

The pressure of this difficulty could not but be felt by every reflecting disciple of the Oxford Tract School; and has, in fact, led to the most desperate efforts for relief. Dr Wiseman has unmercifully, but most reasonably, exposed this curious theory of hostile alliances; and denies, for *his* church, any knowledge whatsoever of this novel form of Catholicism. Mr Gladstone endeavours, as usual, to wrap up the difficulty in a soft phrase or two—to hide the cracks and crevices of the surface, by a glutinous varnish of plausible words. He tells us—'In her (the Church's) 'apostolically descended ministry, such as we receive it upon 'historical evidence, we are to acknowledge the organ of her 'collective action; the medium of the intercommunication of 'those subordinate, yet also integral members, into which she is 'not separated, but *distributed or disposed*.' * Exquisite euphem-

* *Church Principles*, p. 314.

ism ! ' Distributed or disposed ! ' Communities at open war—mutually anathematized—reciprocally excommunicated, are still one community—they are only ' distributed or disposed ! ' The synecdoche is as bold as Ancient Pistol's for *stealing*. ' A fico ' for the phrase ! *Convey*, the wise it call.' There is something both startling and melancholy, yet most true, in the reflection, that it is in their reasonings on the gravest of subjects that mankind most laughably expose themselves.

From the vagaries in question, the consistent Romanist and the consistent Protestant are, at all events, free. The former, though the unity of which he boasts is specious rather than solid, as many controvertists have conclusively shown, yet does not dream that it can be found in communities that are under each other's anathema. He cannot even comprehend so curious a harmony of discords—a union of communities which have no communion—a confederacy made up of nations at war—a body, the members of which are absolutely severed ; and of which, in every sense it may be said, ' the left hand knoweth not what the right hand doeth.' This is not *his* notion of organic unity.

Consistent Protestants again are as little troubled with any such difficulty ; for they do not admit that there is any one universal *visible* church at all.* In their view all true Christians, of whatsoever communion, are members of the one universal, *invisible* church ; which consists of the faithful, not only of one age, but of all ages ; and is gathering to itself from the *many* visible churches, whatsoever is devout and holy in each—to assemble at last in that ' all-reconciling world,' where Bossuet and Leibnitz shall dispute no more, and where ' Luther and Zuingli shall be well agreed.'—' Variations,' which Catholics pretend to exclude, but never do, Protestants not only admit may exist, but contend that they cannot but exist. Their theory is very simple and intelligible. They maintain, with Chillingworth, that every man of

* If there be any point which can be made clear, either from Scripture, or from the history of the first two centuries—and if that be not ' primitive antiquity ' we know not what is—it is the independence of separate churches of one another. This is the conclusion of all the most learned and candid ecclesiastical historians—of Mosheim, Gieseler, Augusti, Waddington, Campbell. It was the conclusion, also, of Barrow and Gibbon ; each, in a different way, likely to arrive at an opposite conclusion, if truth had not been too strong for prejudice. On this subject we recommend an admirable chapter on ' The Holy Catholic Church,' in Mr Alexander's very able work ; and Whately's *Essays on the Kingdom of Christ*.—(Pp. 138, 139.)

sane mind, who honestly enquires, will arrive at sufficient truth to save him; that, if there be any one who thus honestly enquires, and falls into perfectly involuntary error, that that error will not condemn him; that, if a man has *not* honestly enquired, his error is chargeable upon him in the degree in which he has, by his own negligence and wilfulness, invited it; that these principles have, in fact, secured as great an approximation to unity, as the system which, after admitting the maxims which must infallibly issue in spiritual despotism to attain it, fails to do so; and that, lastly, this is shown by the general harmony of Protestant confessions on points which as much transcend 'church principles' in importance, as they surpass them in clearness.

Which of these two views of the subject is the nobler, the worthier—which best harmonizes with the instincts and exercises of Christian charity—which affords the more reasonable hope of an essential, though not an external union, we cannot now stay to enquire.

But the Anglo-Catholic finds himself in a desperate dilemma. He manages to combine upon his theory every conceivable difficulty, and to unite all the lofty pretensions of Papal unity, with all the 'variations of Protestantism.' Having defined his *one visible Catholic church*, ninety-nine out of every hundred of that very church reclaim against its being any such thing.

If the Tractarians be right, it clearly appears that the Catholic church, so far from being agreed as to the very essence of its Catholicism, not only does not know its own mind, but does not even know itself. It is of no avail to tell us that there are some points, some 'church principles,' in which they are all agreed, and that this constitutes them one visible community; for, 1. Such agreement in some principles can no more make separate communities one visible community, than the agreement, and on much higher points, between the English and Scottish churches can make *them* one visible community. 2. The allegation is not true; thousands and tens of thousands of that so-called church, nay, of the Anglican branch of it, deny that the said 'church principles' are any 'church principles' at all. 3. If there be some points in which they are agreed, it is equally true that there are many more, and those infinitely more important, in which Romanists, Anglicans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and Lutherans all agree; and these had surely better be made the basis of the one visible church, if there must be such a thing. Whether those principles, which make a man a Christian, and without which he is none, ought not to be a more reasonable basis of Catholicity, we leave every reader to judge. 4. If they

were ever so much agreed in the alleged 'church principles,' that agreement cannot avail for the purpose, or neutralize the distinct assertion of the vast majority of the so-called Catholic church, that that agreement is not sufficient to constitute it. For by the very principles of Catholicism, that and that only is catholic which is admitted every where, always, and by all; hence the very assertion that the principles in question constitute the one Catholic church, cannot itself be a catholic truth. Catholics are allowed, of course, to be at variance about what they admit *not* to be catholic, but they must not disagree about what *is*. Otherwise 'each 'branch' of the Catholic church is at liberty to form its own catalogue of catholic essentials; and, as the Oxford divines have done, constitute their catholic church accordingly. And therefore we say to these divines,—5. The points you select as Catholic are just of your own arbitrary selection, the result of the exercise of your abjured private judgment. You have no reason for the limit you have found. Why have you not restricted your catalogue to the points of agreement amongst *all* Christians, or extended it to those of the Romish church? They reply—because the one embraces fewer, and the other more, than the *true* principles of Catholicism.—'Catholicism as defined by whom?' we reply.—'By ourselves, to be sure.'—'We thought 'so. On what authority?'—'On that of the Ancient Church.' 'What do you call ancient?' 'We don't know exactly—something between the third and seventh centuries—more or less.' 'And who interprets, after all, the sentence of antiquity?' 'We do.' 'All just as we supposed,' we reply,—'that is, you fix 'on your own test of Catholicism, and the Romanists have just 'as much reason for fixing on another. And yet you are the 'men who have nothing to do with private judgment!'

Can we wonder, that, oppressed by the portentous figment of one visible church—made up of mutually excommunicated communities, and constituted by principles which no inconsiderable minority deny to be true, which, however true, the immense majority deny to be the essence of Catholicism, and which are determined by a small knot of divines on that private judgment which they abjure, and who themselves are now splitting into opposite parties—can we wonder that many of the disciples of this school feel compelled to go a little further in search of that *one visible church* which they are persuaded exists, and sigh for that unity which they have as yet found only in name?

Let none be surprised, then, at the formation of a 'new school,' or the expansion of the 'old school';—we care not which they call it, for the *fact* of hopeless diversities is the point on which we principally insist. That fact shows us, that the Oxford theory

is an ignominious failure: what was early predicted, experience has now confirmed. Never were there such lofty pretensions conjoined with such a miserable result. These divines were to render themselves, and us, independent of the exercise of private judgment, by appealing to the oracle of the 'Church,' and we find the responses of that very oracle dictated by nothing but private judgment; they were to give us a determinate and infallible view of the one Catholic system, and they give us a dozen instead; they promised us absolute unity, and they end in universal confusion; they were to construct a symmetrical fabric on the model of antiquity, and they show us a medley of the architecture of all ages; they were to 'build a tower whose top should reach 'to heaven,' and like those who first made such an attempt, they find themselves suddenly paralysed, and in a similar way; even by discovering that they are babbling all the dialects of Babel.

Absolute agreement as to what is Catholic, would seem to be peculiarly necessary and becoming in these theorists, if we consider that it is a corollary from their system, that the people are to dispense with the duty of private judgment. They profess to provide each man with an 'authorized guide' to religious truth, whom he is implicitly to follow. Now it must be sufficiently puzzling even to him who has not yet resolved to take his priest's *ipse dixit*, to find so many different versions of Catholicism, and so much 'private judgment' exercised among those who renounce it. But what cruel perplexity does it entail on the thousands in every country, who are willing to accept the grateful offer of relieving them of the too onerous cares of immortality, and to deposit their souls, without further thought, in any spiritual bank of decent credit;—on that large class who, to use Bishop Earle's phrase, 'are ready to take their religion as part 'of their copyhold;' on those docile and humble spirits, who only want to know what they are to believe, and are ready to believe it incontinently! What cruel perplexity must it cause in them, to see so many varied and flexible forms of Catholicism—to hear what is called momentous truth on the one side of the parish boundary, denounced as deadly error on that;—one 'authorized guide,' proclaiming the doctrines of Mr Newman or Dr Pusey, another expressly contradicting them; and a multitude of others taking their stand at every intermediate point between these extremes, and rebuking the excesses on either side. Nor does their perplexity end here; for to their astonishment they are informed, that not only are two contiguous parishes bound to receive the doctrine of two 'authorized guides,' who in effect teach contrarieties, but that the authorized guides of the

one Catholic church of Rome, Greece, and England, are entitled to the same allegiance wherever they are found; that therefore the Romish priest is the 'authorized guide' to truth in Italy and Spain; the Greek priest in Russia; and the Anglican in England,—though a Romish priest in England, somehow or other, instantly becomes a *schismatic*. So Mr Gladstone and others affirm, but *how* it happens, they have not clearly explained. On the whole, however, it would appear, that it does not much matter to which of these forms of Catholicism a man belongs; and hence our tourists who visit the Continent are told by some Oxford writers, that they will there find nothing but Romanism to be the genuine Catholic article.

After diligently reading most of the principal works, and no small number of the tracts and pamphlets which this voluminous controversy has produced, the greatest and most irrefragable argument against 'church principles,' appears to us not their absurdity, though that is flagrant enough, but their essential uncharitableness. We stand absolutely confounded at the fatuity of men, who, with the New Testament in their hands, profess to be willing to fraternize with Rome, but cannot fraternize with Lutherans and Presbyterians; who affect to consider the points of difference between the church of Spain and the church of England less vital than those between the church of England and that of Scotland; who, for the sake of such a figment as apostolical succession, and other figments as shadowy, remorselessly exclude a large portion of the communities of Christendom from the very name, rights, and privileges of Christian churches; who can imagine the great doctrines in which both they and their opponents coincide, and which form the theme and triumph of inspired eloquence, of less moment than doctrines and rites on which the Scripture is ominously silent, or which seem to stand in shocking contrast to the moral grandeur and magnanimous spirit of the Christian institute. Yet so it is: and we need no other evidence of the degrading and narrowing effects of such principles, than that this most melancholy result of them should inspire so little sorrow; or rather should be so frequently proclaimed more in triumph than regret. The generality of the Oxford School proclaim the consequences of their 'principles,' not only with an arrogance which ill befits such equivocal conclusions; but without a particle of the sorrow which, even if true, they should excite in the breast of every benevolent man. There is only one exception to this remark, so far as we recollect, and that is Mr Gladstone. He is so impressed with the importance of rescuing,

if possible, his cherished 'church principles' from the charge of uncharitableness, that he returns once and again to the attempt; and, however futile his arguments, we honour the feeling which prompts them. If he at length joins his fellow disciples in stabbing charity to the heart, it is with an averted eye and a reluctant hand—with something of the yearning with which Agamemnon may be supposed to have sacrificed his Iphigenia.

Ἄλλ' ἤκομεν γὰρ εἰς ἀναγκαίᾳς τύχας
Θυγατρὸς αἱματηρὸν ἐκπρᾶξαι φόνον.

This renitency of Mr Gladstone's to accept, without an effort to alleviate them, the consequences of his church principles, is the more remarkable, that in general he does not, any more than his friends of the 'Tracts,' hesitate to glide away from any real objection, and evade any real difficulty. In truth, he generally selects the very weakest arguments to exercise his prowess upon; he acts on the prudent advice given by the rabble to Ivanhoe: 'Touch the Hospitaller's shield—he is your cheapest bargain.' We can attribute his unusual courage, therefore, on the present occasion, only to his solicitude to relieve, if possible, his hypothesis of a difficulty which his own amiable and conciliatory disposition tells him is, if real, the greatest difficulty of all. His principal arguments may deserve a brief notice.

He sometimes *retorts* the charge of intolerance by saying, that those who deny church principles are still more uncharitable, for they deny the Romish and Greek churches to be churches. If there be such Protestants, as there undoubtedly are, they would reply that it is not for professing church principles that they deny the title of Christian churches to these corrupt communities, but on account of far more vital and tremendous abuses, and which—whether the charge of such abuses be well-founded or not—are of infinitely greater moment than the nonsense of apostolical succession. But we may say more. To the great bulk of Protestants the retort is indeed *telum imbelles*. They do not deny that these churches hold what is essential to constitute true Christianity, and therefore true churches of Christ; they merely affirm that they hold much more, and have incrustated the truth with the gravest and most destructive errors. Where is the Protestant who does not consider the names of Pascal, Fénelon, Massillon, and many more, dear not to Romanism only, but to our common Christianity?

Another argument, which Mr Gladstone is fond of urging, and which he has treated at length in his 'Church Principles,' is not a little curious. He argues that those principles are not in effect uncharitable at all; inasmuch as they do not deprive

the opponent of any thing to which he lays claim. For example: in denying the Presbyterian or Lutheran churches to be true churches of Christ on account of not having the episcopate, he would say that he does not deny them any thing they claim, for they abjure *episcopacy*. It must surely have been an unusual stress of weather which induced him to seek refuge in such a port. Is it possible, we are ready to ask, that Mr Gladstone was unconscious of so transparent a fallacy? or shall we exchange the charge of controversial dishonesty for the hypothesis, that his prejudices have wholly clouded his common sense, or produced an incurable strabismus of intellect? Does it not seem obvious that the Presbyterian or the Lutheran would reply, 'You assume that the "church," which is a divine institution, and the privileges of which every Christian is anxious to claim, is *exclusively* episcopal; and in assuming this, you exclude me from it, and therefore deprive me of something I claim to possess. In denying my church to be episcopal, you do me no wrong; in denying my church to be a church at all, you do me much.' We will endeavour, if possible, to make our meaning still clearer. The late Dr Southey once ventured on the preposterous declaration that he who was not a Churchman was only half an Englishman. If a Dissenter, indignant at being thus characterized as a sort of alien, were to complain, would it not sound odd to say, 'Friend, I do you no wrong; I say you are not a churchman, and you say the same.' 'True,' would be the reply, 'and in that you do me no wrong; but you are pleased to *assume* that the distinction in question is essential to my being an Englishman—a title on which I justly value myself, and in that assumption you do me wrong.'

But Mr Gladstone shall refute himself. He knows he does not apply his reasonings with equity. He every where chafes at the lofty pretensions—though far more consistent than his own—of the Romish church; and bitterly complains of that exclusiveness which prompts her to deny the title of a true church to the church of England. Would he be satisfied if the Romanist were to retort his argument, and say, 'Heretic, I do thee no wrong; I deprive thee of nothing thou claimest to possess; thou thyself deniest those doctrines which I say are essential to the one only Holy and Catholic church. The very measure which thou, in thy ignorance and presumption, metest to thy miserable brother heretics of Germany, England, and Scotland—that very measure I mete to thee!' As far as this argument goes, therefore, we hardly think it relieves Mr Gladstone's 'Church Principles' from the blot which still stains, and must ever stain them—of extreme uncharitableness. In truth, nothing

can obliterate it—it pervades the very texture of the ‘Church Principles’ themselves, and it passes all the artifices of his logic to conceal it. The solvent which should obliterate the stain would dissolve the texture too. Mr Gladstone himself seems half afraid of this, for, after one strenuous effort of his charity, he exclaims—‘Perhaps, however, it may seem to some, that, under the explanations here suggested, the essence of church principles is allowed to escape.’—(*Church Principles*, p. 423.) Nevertheless, for efforts so seldom made by disciples of his school, we honour and applaud him.

We must not quit this division of our subject without making one or two remarks on that most daring hypothesis of ‘developments,’ as applied to the whole history of Christianity, which has been adopted by some continental champions of the Romish church, and of which a modification seems much in favour with a section of the Oxford school. According to this theory, the whole enormous expansion of the Papacy is but a ‘development’ of primitive Christianity—and the analogy between them is that of the germ to the plant, or the infant to the man. According to its most eminent expositors, we are at liberty to suppose that many parts of this mature and fully evolved Christian system were absolutely unknown to the founders of Christianity—and so far we most sincerely agree with them. We are to suppose, that when Christianity ‘was a child,’ it spake as a child, it thought as a child, it understood as a child; but when it became a man, it put away childish things’—and amongst other things, we fear, the simplicity, innocence, and guilelessness of childhood. The Apostolic writings might do all very well in the dawn of the Church’s history, but it is in the blaze of the eighth, or better still, the twelfth century—in the age of Gregory VII. or Innocent III.—that we are to recognise the meridian glories of Christianity!

Without charging him with going the full lengths of so extravagant a theory, Mr Newman, in one of the sermons of his recent volume—that entitled ‘Religious Developments,’ has conceded enough to alarm Mr Palmer. The style, as in the other productions of this singular writer, and as in the ‘Tracts,’ generally, is admirably constructed to convey more than is expressed—though more than enough for any ordinary mind is plainly enough expressed.

On this theory, as adopted by Romish writers, we briefly remark, 1. That it is just a speculation as purely rationalistic as any of those which the Church of Rome professes so intensely to abhor. Extremes meet—and here we find the professed ene-

mies of rationalism adopting principles which might delight the heart even of a Paulus or a Strauss. But let it not be forgotten, that many can play at this game of 'developments.' If those portions of the Romish system may be true, of which Apostles never dreamt, why may not similar portions of *other* systems be true? If primitive Christianity was adapted only to the exigencies of the then state of the world, why not *improve* it into other systems as well as that of the Papacy? If we are at liberty to assume the truth of deductions, unvouched and unproven by revelation, what are the limits to be placed on this license of speculation? 2. The theory is in direct, almost whimsical, contrast with the old-fashioned methods of defence which Rome had for ages employed. Its ancient defenders used to exclaim, 'No innovation—let every thing be proved by antiquity;' and there is no art which sophistry can devise, or effrontery practise, which has not been employed to make venerable documents speak their mind—no violence of *exegesis*, no necromancy of criticism, which has been left untried, to make the dead Fathers utter, though with dire contortions, oracles in their favour. But this was often found difficult, sometimes impossible, and the theory of development offers a more facile method. As to the Fathers—*requiescant in pace*—we need conjure with their ashes no more; let them be left to their ignorance of points which it may well be supposed they could not know. As we possess many 'developments' which they were not blessed withal, so our posterity will have an equal advantage over us! 3. As this last proposition is gravely maintained, we are disposed to be rather surprised at the zeal with which Roman Catholics, and our Oxford friends with them, are contending for nearly the whole religious life of the Middle Ages. They ought, in consistency, rather to have their eyes fixed on the future, and indulge prophetic visions of a yet more splendid Avatar of Christianity. 'If you urge,' says Mr Palmer, 'the *silence* of Scripture, or of the Fathers and Councils, or their apparent inconsistency with Romish doctrines or practices, the reply is at hand—"The doctrines or practices in question were not *developed* during those ages." Thus it is continually assumed that Romanism is the *development* of Christianity; and this assumption apparently rests on the further assumption, that whatever is extensively prevalent in the Church—whatever is allowed or tolerated by her authorities—*cannot be a corruption*.'* This last assertion he of course

* *Narrative*, p. 61.

denies; but we would forewarn him that he must take heed—he is between Scylla and Charybdis—for, if he admits that there have been corruptions *so* widely spread in the church as transubstantiation, and purgatory, who shall assure him that his church principles—the very proof of which is their supposed universality—are not among the number? Whether Mr Palmer chooses to affirm, that he *knows* them to be true, though real corruptions may have been equally universal, or that they, and they alone, were *truly* universal, we know not. But it little matters; for all that Mr Palmer can allege for either assertion is, ‘*I think so, and those who think with me think so.*’ Very true; and those who do not think with you do not think so. We come back again to our old friend ‘private judgment.’ Sure we are, he would find it difficult to bring forward evidence for many of his church principles which would not equally apply to the doctrine of the Chiliasts—the administration of the eucharist to infants—the invocation of saints—purgatory—clerical celibacy—and the monastic institute.

We now proceed to make a few observations on some of the specific extravagances into which some of the principal leaders of the Oxford school, more especially Dr Pusey and Mr Newman, have plunged since our former survey of this subject—extravagances which hardly leave room for wonder that they should be regarded as very extraordinary members of the church of England; or that the school which they have founded has exhibited its recent phases, or, if Mr Palmer will, that it has issued in a ‘new school.’

We commence with Dr Pusey’s celebrated ‘Sermon on the Eucharist,’ which, about a year ago, convulsed Oxford, and immediately led to those proceedings which terminated in a sentence of silence for two years. On the proceedings of the University itself—whether they were expedient as well as just—whether less should have been done, (if less *could* have been done,) or more—we shall not trouble our readers. They will find a very temperate defence of these proceedings in Professor Garbett’s Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, elicited by the ‘Protest’ which was presented against them. We meddle only with the sermon itself.

All persons must have been struck by the contrast between the intensity of feeling excited by the delivery of the discourse, and the rapidity with which ‘twenty thousand copies’ of it were disposed of; and the remarkable apathy with which it was perused by the country at large, and the unusually swift pace

at which it proceeded towards its predestined oblivion. Professor Garbett not unnaturally attributes this to the prompt and vigorous measures which were taken to vindicate the insulted majesty of the Church; but we suspect that this is not the whole, nor even the chief part of the wonder. We apprehend that the true but lowly reason was, that the great majority of the twenty thousand purchasers found themselves miserably disappointed when they came to look into the sermon, and heartily wished that the small sum which they had improvidently expended thereon were in their pockets again. Obscure, and apparently self-contradictory in statement, feeble and prolix in style, in some parts a mere tissue of scraps and fragments from the Fathers, followed by a soporiferous appendix of some sixty pages of tedious citations from English Divines—we question whether one twentieth part of them read a half of it, and are confident that those who gave it a patient perusal, at any rate, form a most insignificant minority. In truth, we have no fear of Dr Pusey's making many proselytes by his *writings*. All his polemical productions are insupportably heavy, both in point of matter and style. His page is so *tattooed* with quotations and references, that we can hardly discover the native complexion of his own thoughts. Many a page of his tedious work on baptism is little else than a patch-work of quotations from the Fathers, flounced with a deep margin of references. He reminds us of that class of controvertists of whom Milton says, 'When they have, like good sumpters, laid you down their horse-load of citations and Fathers at your door, you may take off their packsaddles; their day's work is done.'

The author of the Article which we have presumed to attribute to Mr Gladstone says, that Mr Garbett, in his Letter, has not ventured to controvert one of the positions in the celebrated discourse on the Eucharist, and intimates that it must have been because they were incontrovertible. We must suppose, therefore, that this author adheres to Dr Pusey's views of the Eucharist; to which, indeed, from some expressions in the *Church Principles*, so far as we can flatter ourselves that we understand them, we should imagine Mr Gladstone can have little objection. But with respect to the above statement, we must remind him, that there are other reasons for not controverting dogmas, besides that of their being incontrovertible. They must, at all events, be definite; and he who will engage to say what are those of Dr Pusey on this subject, must be a bold interpreter indeed. That they are not those of the Church of England, was all that was necessary for his censors to affirm. What they

are, may well pass their skill to decide. When Tertullian declares, that the 'soul' is 'capable of being grasped in the hand, soft, shining, transparent, and in form exactly resembling the body,' we may certainly conclude that he did not believe it immaterial; but what he *did* believe it to be, could he know, we imagine, only to Tertullian himself, if even to him.

The case would seem, in brief, to be this. Dr Pusey has sworn and subscribed, *ex animo*, the Thirty-nine Articles; of which the Twenty-eighth says, amongst other things, that 'the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, *only* after a heavenly and spiritual manner;' but in his 'sermon' (in the preface of which he avows, that he receives the words of institution 'in their *literal* sense') he declares—'To him [the communicant] its [the sacrament's] special joy is, that it is his Redeemer's very broken Body; it is His Blood which was shed for the remission of his sins. In the words of the ancient church, he *drinks* his ransom, he *eateth* that, the very Body and Blood of the Lord.* . . . His Flesh and Blood in the sacrament shall give life, not only because they are the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Word, who is Life, but also because they are the *very* Flesh and Blood which were given and shed for the life of the world. . . . This is said yet more distinctly in the awful words whereby he consecrated for ever *elements of this world to be* His Body and Blood.† . . . Touching with our *very* lips that cleansing Blood.'‡ To these we might also add many other expressions equally strong.

Now, the question is, whether he who holds the latter views can, in any intelligible sense, be considered as holding the doctrine of the Church of England; and on this, issue is joined. Dr Pusey, in his defence, says, that he is quite surprised that he should be suspected of any inconsistency with the Church of England, as he has said no more than what is warranted, not merely by many of the ancient Fathers, but by many Divines of the English church itself. On which remarkable line of defence we have to remark—1. That we imagined it was to the Thirty-nine Articles that Dr Pusey had sworn his consent, and not to the writings of Laud, Cosins, or Ken. 2. That we imagined it was the former, and not the latter, that were presumed to convey the doctrine of the Church of England. 3. That, on the supposition that *other* Anglican divines have said the same as Dr Pusey, it assuredly follows, that if *he* be wrong, they also are equally wrong; and that, if *he* be innocent, they also are innocent; but

* *Sermon on the Eucharist*, p. 18. † *Ibid.* p. 20. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 23.

that the plea will avail any further, we cannot perceive—it being neither more nor less than just the schoolboy's argument, that B did no more than A did, whereupon it requires to be seen whether A did right or wrong. 4. That if Dr Pusey further say, that as *they* were not rebuked, he ought not to be, his censors may well reply, that if they said what he has said, they *ought* to have been rebuked; but that, as his censors did not happen to live two or three hundred years ago, and if they had, might not have been in a condition to censure, the impunity of the aforesaid parties cannot be charged upon *them*. 5. That, after a diligent inspection of the passages cited by Dr Pusey, we find comparatively few which at all come up in strength to those which are found in Dr Pusey's sermon; while a large number are so qualified by the context as to show that, however willing the writers might be to hyperbolize on the subject of the Eucharist, they were hardly prepared to stand by a literal interpretation of their figures or rhetoric. 6. That Dr Pusey does not contend that these divines are all *consistent* with themselves—very far from it, we should say. Now, it is clear, that all such as are inconsistent in their statements (and they would include his principal authorities) are to be subducted from his catalogue. If A shall say that a thing is white, and *also* that it is black, what right have we to plead his authority for supposing him to mean the one rather than the other? Surely it is more natural to assume, that he had some method of reconciling his statements inconsistent with the absolute assertion of either, or, more probably, did not know his own mind at all. 7. That in some of the cases to which appeal is made, it is manifest that the doctrine of the authors cited, let it have been what it may, could not have been such as to afford any apology for Dr Pusey. Let us take, for example, Hooker. Dr Pusey, or rather the friend who compiled the appendix for him, has given us no less than four pages of extracts from Hooker's writings; but, in the first of them, has discreetly stopped short at the very sentence which shows incontrovertibly that, be his meaning what it may, or let him have no consistent meaning at all, it cannot be the doctrine of Dr Pusey, or any thing like it. The omitted sentence (concluding a paragraph by the bye,) is as follows:—‘The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not, therefore, to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament.’*

1. Precisely the same thing is done in the case of Jeremy Taylor.

* *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Book v. sect. 67.

In the very paragraph from which the first extract is given, we find the words, 'Christ is present spiritually—that is, by effect 'and blessing, which, in true speaking, is rather the consequent 'of his presence than the formality;' while the very sentence, at which the second citation stops short, affirms that there is no more change in the elements at the Eucharist than in Baptism—'It is here as in the other sacrament; for, as there, natural water 'becomes the laver * of regeneration, so, here, bread and wine 'become the body and blood of Christ; but there, and here 'too, the first substance is changed by grace, but remains the 'same in nature.' All which expressions, and thousands more of the like nature, would seem only to imply a very obscure way of stating, that the *formula* of institution is not to be understood, as Dr Pusey expressly says he does understand it, 'literally.'†

But, after all, we must not forget, that this *fascine* of citations, however ingeniously interwoven, is in truth nothing to the purpose; the real standard of appeal being not this or that divine, or half-a-dozen of them, but those documents to which Dr Pusey has sworn. If he may defend himself behind every thing which a Laud or a Cosins may have uttered, his shield will, indeed, be broad enough!

Similar observations apply to Dr Pusey's appeals to the Fathers. They are not the Thirty-nine Articles to which Dr Pusey has sworn; and afford, therefore, about as sound a plea as a rule of Roman law would, if alleged against the enactments of our own. Nor is this all; the Fathers are themselves most obscure, inconsistent, and contradictory on this question; as all who have waded through any of the principal controversial works of Romanists

* Printed, ludicrously enough, 'the *lava* of regeneration,' in Bishop Heber's edition of Taylor's works.

† It may perhaps be said that, as Dr Pusey has warned us that some of the writers he cites are not consistent with themselves, he was not bound to give their inconsistencies. We reply, first, that he was bound not to cite the inconsistent at all—since it is impossible to tell in what sense they intended their language should be understood; secondly, that he was doubly so bound, when the discrepancies are such as to show, that whatever the meaning of the writers, they could not have had *his* meaning; and, lastly, that the studied exclusion of inconsistent expressions resembles too much those controversial arts—that packing of literary juries—which distinguished the construction of the '*Catena Patrum*,' and other portions of the 'Tracts;' and which compelled Mr Goode to exclaim—'However we may account for it, truth has been sacrificed.' Any fault, however, on the present occasion, we do not attribute to Dr Pusey, who clearly had no hand in it; it must be charged on the friend, more zealous than wise, who compiled the Appendix.

and Protestants on the subject of Transubstantiation, know full well. We have one Father against another, and the same Father often against himself. If Chrysostom, in his extravagant rhetoric, tells us of the 'tongue reddened with the most awful blood,' and 'that to those who desire it, He hath given Himself, not only to 'see but to touch, and to eat, and to fix their teeth in his flesh;' he kindly balances the statement by saying, that 'the bread is esteemed worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it.' If Tertullian in one place assures us, that 'believers partake of the grace of the eucharist, by the 'cutting up and distribution of the Lord's body;' he in another also assures us, that the meaning of the Scripture phrase, 'this 'is my body,' is, 'this is the *representation* of my body.' If Justin magnifies the rite by affirming, 'that the food which has 'been blessed with the word of blessing from him, is likewise the 'flesh and blood of the same incarnate Jesus,' he none the less affirms, that 'the eucharist is the *commemoration* of our Lord's 'passion.'

We may remark, by the way, that many of the expressions cited from the Fathers are so irreverent and absurd, that if they had but occurred in modern writers—if they were not covered by the 'hoar of ages,'—Dr Pusey and his school, we are convinced, would be the first to condemn them. Strange, we are ready to exclaim, that what would be pronounced fanatical nonsense in the mouth of a Whitefield or a Wesley, is denominated sacred and holy if uttered by the lips of Chrysostom or Jerome. Yet so it is; 'the nonsense of one age becomes the wisdom of another, and an ancient farthing moulders into infinitely more 'value than a modern guinea.'

'With sharpen'd sight pale antiquaries pore,
Th' inscription value, but the *rust* adore;
This the blue varnish, that the green endears,
The sacred rust of twice ten hundred years.'

That many of the English Divines, partly participating in the solicitude of the Fathers to invest the Eucharist with a supernatural character, partly yielding to the superstitious prejudices which the long triumph of the doctrine of Transubstantiation had nurtured, have given expression to opinions quite as incomprehensible and transcendental as those of the Romish church, cannot be denied. It is equally clear, as Dr Pusey admits, that not a few are inconsistent with themselves, and defy all interpretation. Many of them contend, indeed, that there is a 'real 'presence' in the sense that Christ is *truly* present; but then it is not a 'natural' or a 'carnal' presence; his 'body' is present, but then it is 'spiritually,' 'mystically,' present. In spite of all

this jargon, one might suppose, from many expressions, that they, after all, mean nothing more than the consistent Protestant means—that there is no change in the elements at all—that the words are to be understood figuratively, and not literally—that the bread and the wine are but symbols, vividly suggesting through the senses and imagination the great and momentous truths they commemorate; and the analogy which subsists between the effects of the one upon the physical, and of the other upon the spiritual nature of man. Such are certain expressions of Jeremy Taylor, such many of Hooker. Yet is it certain, that many of the Anglican Divines contend for something much more than this, though they know not what; something as perfectly unintelligible as transubstantiation itself, and which seems, at all events logically, to involve it. They use expressions, in fact, which irresistibly suggest the idea, that they wished, under a cloud of words, to glide away from the controversy, and to strike a hollow truce with Rome by the aid of an ambiguity.

They affirm that there is a change, a stupendous change, effected in the elements by the formula of consecration, but not transubstantiation; those elements literally, not figuratively, *become* the very flesh and blood of Christ, while there is no change of the natural substance of bread and wine; the ‘body’ of Christ is there, only it is there ‘spiritually’; it is ‘really’ present, but not ‘corporeally’; it is a presence not ‘local,’ but ‘super-local,’—to use Mr Newman’s *explanatory* jargon in ‘Tract No. 90.’ Now what may be the *spiritual* presence of a *body*, what *its* ‘substantial,’ but not ‘corporeal’ presence;* what it is for a body to be not ‘locally,’ but ‘super-locally’ present, is, at all events, as incomprehensible as the Romanist proposition of the ‘accidents’ remaining without the ‘substances;’ and both alike we may hope to understand when we have solved the noted question propounded in Martinus Scriblerus, ‘whether, besides the real being of actual ‘being, there be any other being necessary to cause a thing to be.’

Well may Mr Alexander exclaim, ‘What between the anxiety ‘of the Anglicans to maintain the real presence, on the one ‘hand, and their dread of using words that would fix upon them ‘the advocacy of transubstantiation on the other, their statements are to common understandings somewhat impenetrable.’†

* See particularly the extracts from Cosins, cited in Dr Pusey’s Appendix.

† *Anglo-Catholicism not Apostolical* p. 393. The whole passage is well worthy of perusal.

It is in vain for Dr Pusey to tell us that such things are great mysteries, and that, by the very nature of mysteries, they are totally incomprehensible. We refuse not to believe mysteries, merely on the ground that they are such, for we believe many; we ask only the *extrinsic* evidence that we are called on to believe them; and that the mysteries themselves, though we cannot solve them, should be at least capable of being conveyed in terms that are neither absolutely devoid of meaning, nor absolutely contradictory. To deal with the second condition first; we affirm, that in the present case, the very propositions are either incomprehensible or contradictory. A change, which changes a thing, and which yet leaves it as it was—a change, these are the words, by which bread and wine *literally become* flesh and blood, and yet remain bread and wine—a body *spiritually* present—present, not locally, but *super-locally*—are, in any ordinary meaning of the terms, either wholly unintelligible or diametrically contradictory. The Romanist himself is not driven to more desperate straits in the management of his theory, and can evade objections with a more plausible sophistry. When we remind him of Bel-larmine's expression, 'that the body of the Lord is sensibly 'touched with the hands, broken and bruised with the teeth;' 'Ah!' he replies, 'it is through the medium of the sacramental 'species,—*mediantibus speciebus*.'

As to the first condition; it surely well behoves those who thrust these metaphysical subtleties into theology, and then call them 'sacred truths,' to be ready, at all events, with that extrinsic evidence which can alone justify us in receiving *any* mystery. To this the answer is prompt,—'It is expressly said, "This is 'my body;'" and we admit, that if this expression is to be understood literally, the answer is plain enough,—so plain, that we wonder that any controvertists should trouble themselves to accumulate strong quotations from the Fathers; for scarcely one is so strong as the words of institution, and none can be stronger. This the Romanists truly allege. And the answer to the plea, thus narrowed, is equally plain. We say to those who thus reason,—'Then fairly apply the same reasoning to other passages—to the metaphorical language of the 'Bible generally—to analogous expressions of our Lord himself; or as fairly show why you do in the one case what you do 'not in the other. Do not interpret Him, who, being the wisest 'of teachers, and knowing the nature of man, employed parable 'and metaphor more largely than any other teacher ever did—'do not interpret Him, on this single occasion, as you never do on 'any other. When our Lord says, "I am the vine,"—"I am the 'door,"—"I am the resurrection,"—or (to adduce passages

‘ which are equally conclusive, though we do not recollect seeing ‘ them urged by controvertists,)—when he says, “ He that doeth ‘ the will of God, the same is my mother, and sister, and brother ;”—“ My meat and my drink is to do the will of my Father ;” when he says, on the cross, to his mother, concerning John, “ Woman, behold thy son,” and to John, “ Behold thy mother,” not to mention numberless other cases ; no man feels any ‘ temptation to talk metaphysical nonsense, or proposes to discover any transcendental mysteries. We conclude, therefore, ‘ that you find such mysteries in this one passage, only because ‘ you *want* to find them there.’—What Selden said so truly of Transubstantiation, may be equally said of every other theory which depends on the literal interpretation of the words of institution,—‘ It is nothing but rhetoric turned into logic.’*

Meantime, as Jeremy Taylor truly observes, all men, in fact, whatever may be their pretences, must come to the figurative at last. On the words, ‘ This cup,’ &c., he asks, ‘ To what can ‘ *τοῦτο* refer but to *πρωτος*, “ this cup,” and let whatsoever sense ‘ be affixed to it afterwards, if it do not suppose a figure, then ‘ there is no such thing as figures, or words, or truth, or things.’† He afterwards affirms and shows, ‘ that there is in the words of ‘ institution such a heap of tropes and figurative speeches, that ‘ almost in every word there is plainly a trope.’‡

Dr Pusey bears the general character of an amiable and modest man. We regret, in common with Professor Garbett, that he should, in the preface to his Sermon,§ have departed from his usual character. He talks of the opposition or ridicule which *his* theory of the Eucharist may meet with as blasphemy and profanity. Not a shadow of a misgiving does he seem to have, that he may by possibility be mistaken, or that a doctrine which

* We had written our remarks on Dr Pusey’s Sermon before the valuable pamphlet of Professor Lee attracted our notice. His views of the inconclusiveness of Dr Pusey’s defence, and of the fallacy of his *catena*, coincide with our own. And his denunciation of the whole Oxford system is equally honest and eloquent.

† On Transubstantiation, Sect. 5.

‡ Ibid. Sect. 6.

§ ‘ It is with pain that the following Sermon is published. For it is impossible for any one not to foresee one portion of its effects ; what floods, namely, of blasphemy against holy truth will be poured forth by the infidel, or heretical, or secular and anti-religious papers with which our church and country are at this time afflicted. It is like casting, with one’s own hands, that which is most sacred, to be outraged and profaned.’—*Preface.*

his fellow Christians, members of the very same church, are either constrained to denominate jargon, or, so far as they can catch a glimpse of his meaning, to denounce as contrary to the very Articles which he has sworn that he believes, can be any other than absolute truth. The whole opening paragraph is worthy rather of Hildebrand than of Dr Pusey. But we forbear to comment longer on this mournful spectacle, and content ourselves with recommending to the attention of our readers the mild and dignified rebuke of Professor Garbett.

With regard to the charge of 'blasphemy and profanity,' so lightly preferred against those who merely question Dr Pusey's infallibility, we can only say, that we trust no conscientious man will hesitate freely to denounce, and, if necessary, ridicule, what he sincerely believes most pernicious 'nonsense,' merely because some are pleased to call it a 'sacred mystery.' Ineffably painful as it may be to a devout mind to speak of follies, which even touch on subjects truly sacred, in the terms they deserve, still it is only the more necessary from that very connexion; and on *them* be the scandal who create the necessity. If to do this be 'blasphemy,' we have an ample warrant in the conduct of some of the best of the Anglican divines, who, in dealing with transubstantiation, (which cannot be *less* sacred in the eye of Romanists than is Dr Pusey's theory in his own,) have, as Jeremy Taylor expresses it, much of that 'Macedonian simplicity which calls things by their right names.' We feel that we have kept far within the limits of South, who calls transubstantiation 'the most stupendous piece of nonsense that ever was owned in the face of a rational world;' and of Jeremy Taylor, who scruples not to say, in his long enumeration of its absurdities—'By this doctrine, the same thing stays in a place and goes away from it; it removes from itself, and yet abides close by itself, and in itself, and out of itself; . . . it is brought from heaven to earth, and yet is nowhere in the way, nor ever stirs out of heaven . . . It makes a thing contained bigger than that which contains it, and all Christ's body to go into a part of his body; his whole head into his own mouth, if he did eat the eucharist, as it is probable he did, and certain that he might have done.' In fact, a great part of his treatise on the subject, and especially the eleventh section, is conceived in a spirit of the severest ridicule. But probably Dr Pusey is of the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, who condemns laughter *in toto*. Verily, if laughter be sinful, neither Dr Pusey nor Clement ought to have written. We may well say, as Pascal to the Jesuits—that we are far enough from ridiculing *sacred* things, in ridiculing such things as Dr Pusey's theory of the Eucharist—'Je me suis déjà justifié sur ces points;

‘ et on est bien éloigné d’être exposé à ce vice, quand on n’a qu’à
 ‘ parler des opinions que j’ai rapportées de vos auteurs.’*

But whatever the extravagances of Dr Pusey may be, they are not to be compared with those of Mr Newman. The latter advances much more rapidly on the ‘ line of Catholicism;’ and if we may judge from the extraordinary ‘ development’ which has recently characterized his comet-like career, he must surely be now near his perihelion. His recantation of his unfilial speeches against Rome, uttered in the comparative darkness of a Tractator, are well known. His last volume of sermons, like Mr Ward’s Articles in the *British Critic*, has been received with shouts of rapture by the principal Catholic Periodicals of the empire. In his Essay on Miracles, he has endeavoured to establish principles which would serve at once to authenticate the ‘ church system’ of the Middle Ages; and tales which have hitherto been regarded as the very dotage of superstition, are gravely propounded as worthy of all belief and reverence. These principles have already been applied in the series of ‘ Lives of the English Saints,’ now in course of publication, under his auspices and with his approbation; in which the monasticism, the pilgrimages, the miracles, the superstitions, and, in a word, the whole religious life of the Middle Ages are recommended to our faith and veneration. Certainly the most conclusive method of maintaining the ‘ church system,’ is by affirming the quasi-inspiration of the men who developed it, and the miraculous attestations with which their doctrine has been confirmed. Towards the former, an initial attempt was made in ‘ Tract 89,’ ‘ On the mysticism of the Fathers,’ in which so many of the stupendous errors of patristic allegory are not only defended but eulogized. Of interpretations, which, apart from inspiration, no man could have imagined to be warranted by the text, and which, except on that supposition, must seem the merest dreams of a crazed fancy, it is said, ‘ the holy fathers well knew what they were about; they ‘ proceeded in interpreting Scripture on the surest ground—the ‘ warrant of Scripture itself in analogous cases.’ This, it will be recollected, applies to examples no less fanciful than that by which the ‘ five barley loaves’ in the miracle, are by some made to represent ‘ the five senses;’ and by others, the ‘ five books ‘ of Moses!’

Now, to justify the Fathers *because* they imitate inspired men in doing only what inspiration can enable men to do, is to attribute to them—what some of them, indeed, on particular occasions are not slow to attribute to themselves—the gift of inspiration.

* Pascal’s *Lettres Provinciales*, (No. xi.)

The same desperate courage which led the writer of the above Tract to claim preternatural wisdom for an indefinite portion of the worst inanities of patristic allegory, and to convert the very babblings of dotage into proofs of a quasi-inspiration, has led Mr Newman to patronize an indefinite, but very large portion of the monkish miracles; thus boldly accepting the challenge of Mr Baden Powell, in his able Essay on Tradition. That gentleman justly contends, that the Traditional system requires the attestation of miracles as much as that of the New Testament. Very well; Mr Newman has consistently provided it; so that now the church system, disclosed by inspired Fathers, is confirmed by monkish miracles; and surely they are worthy of each other. It is hard to say which are more celestial, the allegorical mysteries of the Fathers, or the thaumaturgic achievements of the Monks.

Mr Newman's *Essay on Miracles* is prefixed to an English translation of a portion of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History. The Essay originated in a kind desire to assist the reader in dealing with 'those supernatural narratives' which are so plentifully spread over the voluminous work of the Romanist historian. 'It will naturally suggest itself to the reader,' says Mr Newman, 'to form some judgment upon them; and a perplexity, perhaps a painful perplexity, may ensue from the difficulty of doing so. This being the case,' adds the provident Essayist, 'it is inconsiderate, and almost wanton, to bring such subjects before him without making at least the attempt to assist him in disposing of them.*' Some may doubt whether it was necessary for a clergyman of the English church to bring the subject before the reader at all, in so questionable a shape as that of a Romanist's history; but having chosen to conduct us into a labyrinth, it was kind to provide us at the same time with a clue. Mr Newman's benevolence reminds us of that of the early settlers in America, who, it is said, bestowed inestimable benefits on the aborigines by making them acquainted with certain valuable medicinal agents; and that the aborigines might not be ignorant of their obligations, they took care to introduce the diseases for which those medicines were specifics, at the same time.

It should be observed, that Mr Newman contends not only for a multitude of primitive miracles, but of *mediæval* miracles also—in fact for miracles in all ages—for 'there have been at all times true miracles and false miracles.'† So that here again we should be left in an ecstasy of wonder that he did not repair to that church which, whether any other has the like privilege or not, *must* have had its system thus preternaturally authenticated,

* Page xii.

† Page xiii.

were it not that he leaves us in doubt whether he does not believe that the English church has been favoured with similar authentication. Indeed, on his principles, as we shall shortly see, it is hard to say what may *not* be a miracle. We shall devote a page or two to the consideration of his principles.

No theist, we presume, can have any doubt about the *possibility* of miracles. He who believes in a Creator of all things, can have little difficulty in believing that He who imposed the laws of nature can alter, suspend, or dispense with them, at His almighty will. And if any probable reason can be assigned worthy of such an interposition, a philosophic mind will allow that it fairly meets the merely *à priori* presumption, arising from the admitted infrequency of such an occurrence. To infer from that infrequency alone that miracles never have occurred, and never will, is just as unphilosophic a prejudice as that which led the Indian prince—to employ Hume's celebrated instance, and which, by-the-by, is sufficient to demolish his theory—to deny that there ever was or *could* be such a thing as ice—a conclusion, which, however natural to *his* uniform experience, was certainly any thing but Baconian: or it is as unphilosophic a prejudice as that which generally makes the young natural philosopher stand aghast when he first hears propounded the first law of motion—to him an incomprehensible paradox. All such prejudices are of the same nature. They lead us hastily to infer that that cannot *be* which is not familiar to us. Purging his mind, therefore, from any such *idola tribus*, the philosophic enquirer will make the question of an alleged miracle simply a question of evidence; and if that be sufficient, he will not reject it, simply because it is a phenomenon unfamiliar to him. Nor will he forget that there may be cases in which the evidence is so strong, that it would be yet more unphilosophic to reject the evidence than to admit the phenomenon; that it may be in fact so strong as to allow him only the alternative of admitting one of two miracles;—of admitting either a partial violation of the laws of the material world, or a total subversion of the laws of the moral world; which, as operating in a number of minds, are just as invariable. If, therefore, (to 'try the theorem upon a simple case,' as Paley has remarked,) a number of men, of previously good character, were all to depose to the same facts, not explicable, except on the hypothesis of miracle;—were to persist in the same story, not only without any assignable motive, but against every assignable motive; separately and collectively; under the severest examinations, amidst menaces, tortures, and in death itself—we do not believe

that there is any sane man in the world who would not rather believe in the truth of the facts, than in this total subversion of every principle, both of man's physical and moral nature.*

But whether we are justified in believing that a miracle has occurred or not, will depend entirely on the amount and quality of the evidence. If Mr Newman's tests be thought sufficient, we hardly know any legend wild enough to be unworthy of human belief.

Mr Newman insinuates, with that perilous disregard of Scripture which will give no little delight to infidelity, but which quite corresponds with the tone of No. 85 of the Tracts, that if we reject the 'ecclesiastical miracles,' we shall be grievously troubled in defending those of the Bible. Yet he himself has fully admitted that the latter are precisely catalogued and ascertained, instead of being intermingled, like those for which he contends, with a

* An inability to weigh the force of moral evidence—to see when, in effect, it would be a miracle that it should prove false—is a striking characteristic of German theologians: they would rather admit a thousand *moral* miracles than a single *physical* one. We not only see this in the writings of Neologians, in whom it might more naturally be expected, but even in those who have no occasion for such violent hypotheses; those, in fact, who admit the most stupendous supernatural events of the New Testament, and the truth of the documents which record them! We may instance Neander, who, in his *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der Christlichen Kirche*, and in his *Leben Jesu*, not seldom resorts to most violent methods of interpretation, and most improbable surmises, to reduce a miracle to the stature of an ordinary event. Thus he thinks the judgment on Ananias and Sapphira may be accounted for, by supposing them to have died of a sudden pang of remorse, and the shame of public detection! Query—What is the probability that two persons, within an hour or so, each unwitting of the other's fate, should both drop down dead of remorse, for a crime which they had not for a moment hesitated to conspire and commit, and which they had carried off, up to the moment of detection, with unfaltering effrontery! In the same manner, we constantly find this class of theologians endeavouring to render miracles (far less stupendous than those they admit to be truly such) *easy* to Omnipotence—not caring, meanwhile, what burdens of absurdity, contradiction, and improbability, they lay upon poor humanity, by whose agency they are performed, or by whose pen they are recorded. It is not a little curious that such universal horror of a miracle should be manifested, in a country in which, from the days of Paracelsus, to those of Mesmer, the wildest and most visionary theories of physics have found thousands of credulous admirers. On behalf of such theories, many a German speculator will exercise a thousand times as much faith as would be necessary to make him a sober Christian.

vastly greater number of admitted impostures; that they are supported by the same evidence which proves all or none, while the former are insulated, and supported by various degrees of evidence. What is yet more, he has admitted the glaring contrast in spirit, tone, and internal evidence, between the scriptural and ecclesiastical miracles; and that, whatever be their external evidence, there is the widest conceivable difference in their intrinsic claims to attention. We may further remark, 1st, that if *some* of the Scripture miracles be wrought on occasions apparently as trivial as thousands of those which fill the pages of ecclesiastical history, the proportions in the numbers are altogether reversed; the exceptions in the former case become the rule in the latter. The vast majority of the monkish miracles are visibly stamped with legendary characteristics, which, though difficult to enumerate, are as rapidly seized by the mind as those peculiarities of feature by which we discriminate one face from another. But 2d, (and this is the chief point,) the comparatively few cases of miraculous occurrence recorded in Scripture, which at all resemble those of ecclesiastical history, are admitted to be authenticated, not by their intrinsic evidence, but by the multiform and independent proofs which substantiate the *rest*, and, at the same time, the system of which they form a subordinate part. They are sustained only by other facts with which they are in combination; they float, not from their absolute buoyancy, but on account of the greater specific gravity of the fluid on which they rest; just as iron, which will sink in water, will swim in mercury. This cannot be said of the ecclesiastical miracles; and Mr Newman in effect admits it, (p. 25,) and in other places, where he is much more successful in stating the objection than in removing it.

But not to dwell any longer on the bearing of the general argument upon the Scripture miracles, which may safely be left to their proper evidence, we proceed to enquire what are the claims of the ecclesiastical miracles to attention, and whether they are supported by that degree of evidence which justifies the belief of them.

We regret to say that Mr Newman (by a style of logic but too characteristic of him) has kept out of sight all the principal arguments which prove, that the overwhelming majority of those miracles are so evidently fabulous as to make it highly unreasonable to affirm that any are not; and that if there *be* any that are not, it is for such reasons impossible to establish their actual occurrence. We shall endeavour to supply his deficiencies, and to give a fair account of the *general state of the evidence*; from which it will be seen that it is impossible not to regard, with the extremest degree of suspicion, the infinitesimal mino-

city which might otherwise be thought less suspicious. In order to obviate every cavil, however, we will then proceed to canvass the *particular evidence* in one or two of Mr Newman's very strongest cases, and show how utterly inadequate it is.

A candid man, we apprehend, would find it quite sufficient merely to inspect the general character of the bulk of ecclesiastical miracles, to pronounce not only on *their* claims to attention, but to decide that any claims to miraculous agency—in ages in which credulity, on the one hand, and falsehood on the other, were so rife, and in which such a countless multitude of now universally exploded fables could be either forged or believed—are in an inconceivably greater ratio likely to be false than true. The immense number of these miracles—the very profusion and waste of the miraculous energy—the triviality of the occasions on which the large mass of them were wrought—the mean, the ridiculous, purposes they served—the grotesque circumstances which accompanied their performance—the singular marks of fraudulent or legendary origin which pervade them—are alone sufficient to render faith in the few which appear somewhat less incredible, one of the most difficult tasks ever imposed upon mortals. But this presumption is greatly strengthened when we consider the general state of the evidence, and remember that the four following facts are not only notorious, but admitted on all hands, and are in effect admitted by Mr Newman himself.

1. It is a curious circumstance, that in the earliest remains of ecclesiastical antiquity—where, if any where, one might expect the continued exertion of those miraculous agencies which demonstrated the truth of Christianity—there, precisely, the traces of miracles are the faintest, and the claims to their performance least decisive. Moreover, the events of a supposed miraculous character are either just of that species which, in all ages, have most easily imposed on the ignorant and unreflecting—which knaves can most easily simulate, or enthusiasm most easily mistake, (as in the case of the *εὐεργουμένοι*);* or if they are of a more decisively miraculous character, those who relate them do not pretend to have been eye-witnesses, or give any circumstantial statement whatsoever, but merely report them on that loose

* Origen expressly says of the casting out of Devils, *ὡς ἐπίπαν γὰρ ἰδιῶται τὸ τοιοῦτον πᾶσι*. 'The general style of the early writers,' says Middleton, is as vague as possible; 'such and such works are done 'amongst us, or by us; by our people; by a few; by many; by our 'exorcists; by ignorant laymen, women, boys, and any simple Christian 'whatsoever.'

kind of evidence on which Goldsmith's mad dog was convicted—'the report was received from a neighbour, who had it from another, who was told it from one who had it on excellent authority.' But now, after a period of prolonged silence—a most unaccountable stagnation of the miraculous energy—we find, to our no little wonder, that it has become more active than ever; and that, too, just when, considering what was its primary and express object, as stated in the great volume of inspiration itself, its interpositions would seem least necessary. In other words, the miracles are found increasing in frequency as Christianity appears to require them less. They also appear to increase in precise ratio to the growth of superstition and credulity; till at length they are poured forth with such profusion, that, if we were to credit some of the monkish legends, there would seem to be some danger lest the very cheapness of the miracles should destroy their nature. 'They become,' as Jeremy Taylor expresses it, 'a daily extraordinary, a supernatural natural event, a perpetual wonder, that is, a wonder and no wonder.' In ancient Athens, it was said, you might find more gods than men; and in like manner, in many of the ecclesiastical legends, you will find more miracles than ordinary events. Daniel O'Rourke 'wondered' in his mind how an eagle came to speak like a Christian; in reading many of the above legends we are surprised at nothing of the kind—all our astonishment is to find a monk speaking like one.

2. We have the express testimony of some of the Fathers—of Chrysostom in particular, most distinctly and repeatedly—that miracles had ceased, and that events pretending to that character were rather to be looked upon as the tricks of jugglers or the delusions of fanaticism.* If, on other occasions, in compliance with the prejudices of his age, or in compliment to the 'glorious martyrs,' he is pleased to contradict himself, and to proclaim the efficacy of their holy relics, or the prodigies wrought at their shrines, it is of no consequence to the present argument. It does not belong to us to reconcile his statements. It is sufficient for our purpose that the evidence is contradictory. It necessarily involves

* In one place he says, 'Why are there not those now who raise the dead and perform cures?' In another, 'Argue not because miracles do not happen now, that they did not happen then. In those times they were profitable, and now they are not.' Mr Newman endeavours to reconcile the discrepancies in the statements of Chrysostom as well as in those of Augustine on this subject, but to us most unsatisfactorily. The reader may judge for himself by inspecting the *Essay*, pp. 38, 39.

that evidence in suspicion when we have the declaration of one of the best of the Fathers—that it cannot be relied upon. We may remark, however, that as the spirit of his age, and the rampant demonolatry with which it was infected, would naturally have led him to maintain rather than impugn the alleged miracles, we can hardly account for his doing the latter, except from the force of truth,

3. We know—what ought in itself to be sufficient to decide the question—that it was a maxim received and acted upon by many of the most eminent of the churchmen of the early centuries—expressly defended by the Alexandrian Clement and by Jerome—that fraud was sometimes justifiable for a holy end, and that falsehoods were occasionally a valuable auxiliary of truth. ‘We would willingly,’ says the candid Mosheim, ‘except from this charge Ambrose and Hilary, Augustin, Gregory Nazianzen, and Jerome; but truth, which is more respectable than these venerable fathers, obliges us to involve them in the general accusation. We may add also, that it was probably the contagion of this pernicious maxim that engaged Sulpitius Severus, who is far from being in general a puerile or credulous historian, to attribute so many miracles to St Martin.’* And we know that principles which some did not blush to avow, many more did not blush to act upon. Some pretended to inspiration, and *forged* revelations; others pretended to divine powers, and *forged* miracles. Is it necessary to add, that this one fact leaves the whole mass of ecclesiastical miracles under the very strongest degree of suspicion, and advertises us, as it were, that if there be truth in any of them, it cannot be established? If similar maxims were discovered in the New Testament;—if we found its writers stating, that deceit is sometimes justifiable, and that it is lawful ‘to do evil that good may come,’ it would, we think, go far to discredit, in all sober minds, the whole pretensions of the sacred volume; for what certainty can we have that he speaks truth, who in the very same breath tells us, that he may fabricate untruths when it seems to him good to do so?

4. Such are the credulity, the carelessness, the indiscriminate appetite for wonders, which characterize even the recorders of the best attested and most venerated of these miracles, that there is not one of them who does not relate ten times as many as even the most egregiously credulous of these times can by any possibility receive. Take, for example, Paulinus and Augustine, the principal vouchers for the celebrated Ambrosian

* Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 382.

miracles, (of which we shall speak by and by;) such is the easy faith of these Fathers with regard to miraculous occurrences, and such their latitude or confusion of thought, as to what may pass for such, that we will venture to affirm, that not even the most credulous of their admirers can lay his hand upon his heart and say, that he believes that a fourth part of the alleged facts ever occurred; or that a fourth part of those that did occur were of the nature of miracles. Let any one read Augustine's catalogue of those wrought at the shrine of St Stephen, in and about Hippo, and then judge. Nay, Augustine himself complains that his contemporaries, for whatsoever reason, could with difficulty be brought to believe them; and if *they* did not believe them, he can hardly expect more faith in their less credulous posterity. 'Non tanta ea commendat auctoritas, ut sine difficultate vel dubitatione credantur, quamvis Christianis fidelibus, a fidelibus indicentur.'

Moreover, when we find authors so respectable as Jerome gravely telling us of St Hilarion's successful exorcising of a 'huge Bactrian camel,' and of two lions benevolently coming to assist St Anthony in the burial of the hermit Paul, (digging a grave for him with their feet, and then departing with the *blessing* of the saint,) not to mention a number of similar prodigies in that inimitable piece of biography; when we find Palladius telling us of a hyena asking absolution of a hermit for killing a sheep, and of a female turned by magic into a mare; Ephraïmus, Bishop of the Cyprian Salamis, assuring us that in his time *many* fountains and rivers were annually turned into wine on the same day, and at the same time, when Our Saviour wrought his miracle at Cana in Galilee; Eusebius, recording that the pillars in the porticoes of the city distilled tears in a remarkably dry season, on account of the barbarities inflicted on the Christians of Palestine; Athanasius, relating, amidst a crowd of similar absurdities, that St Anthony, hearing one day a loud knocking at his cell, found a 'tall meagre person' there who gave in his name, Satan, and that that personage had politely come to beg a truce of Christians, whose reproaches and curses, he averred, were the more unreasonable, as their universal diffusion, even in the depths of the desert, had completely spoiled his trade, and disarmed him of all power to do mischief; *—when we think of such authors re-

* The dialogue between the saint and his visitor is given with great gravity, and apparent devotion, by Mr Newman, p. 30. The implied compliment to the monks must be considered a deep manœuvre of the subtle adversary, and, as a monstrous fiction, was well worthy, we confess, of the Father of lies. The whole narrative is full of similar extravagances.

tailing such stories, and that these may be matched by thousands more of the like quality—what can we say of the trustworthiness of any miraculous announcements from men who were either so enormously dishonest or so enormously credulous? We care not, so far as the present argument is concerned, which of the alternatives be taken. One of them *must* be taken by every man of our times; for not even a Romanist, with the exception perhaps of a Baronius or a Tillemont, will believe one half of these miracles.*

Such was the infinite number and the stupendous nature of these pretended miracles, that if only the hundredth part were true, we may well say, with Jortin and Middleton, that they

* For a detailed and most amusing account of two or three of the miracles mentioned above, and of many more which we have omitted, the reader may consult Mr Isaac Taylor's *Ancient Christianity*, more especially vol. ii. pp. 233, 377. His examination of the ancient miracles forms one of the very ablest portions of his valuable volumes, being conducted with great acuteness and circumspection. Some of his translations are given with much spirit, and the running commentary upon them is pleasant reading. We can assure our readers, that the absurdities which appear even in that naked statement of the miracles which is all we have space for, will in no degree be diminished by perusing their most grotesque details. It *might* have been objected to Mr Taylor, at the time he published his work, that he was in some instances appealing to authorities of unknown date and doubtful authenticity, as for example the document *De miraculis Stephani*—which may have been composed later than the fourth, or even the fifth century. But all scruple about adducing these, and the like recitals, as bearing on the *general evidence* for or against ecclesiastical miracles, is removed by the subsequent 'developments' of the Oxford divines, who now boldly advocate the claims of an indefinite multitude of the mediæval miracles, or rather of miracles in all ages. This must be acknowledged to be a masterly refinement. In another respect, too, they have, we apprehend, out-flanked Mr Taylor. He doubtless thought, that to lay bare the frauds and credulity of the ancient church in relation to miracles, was one effectual way of showing the corrupt state of the system which produced them, and the folly of taking it as a model and a guide. And, doubtless, most sane persons will agree with him. He little thought that there were men, who, instead of doubting the system from the miracles, would discern a glorious harmony between the miracles and the system. Mr Newman seems to have felt the pressure of the argument, and in his *Essay* attempts to reply to it; though, as we shall shortly see, whether he thinks that the church system avouches the miracles, or the miracles avouch the church system, he leaves in notable dubiety. If he can but get men to believe the miracles, he well knows how all men have ever interpreted such interpositions.

utterly eclipse all the supernatural narratives of the New Testament. The extraordinary ease with which all kinds of diseases were cured by the sacred oil, and various other equally efficacious appliances of spiritual quackery, well justifies the sarcasm of the former, when he says—‘One would wonder how the physicians did to live in those days, when this effusion of miracles seemed to have rendered their art altogether unnecessary. They could have had no business except amongst pagans, Jews, heretics, and schismatics.’

Such is the *general state* of the evidence touching ecclesiastical miracles. It will be observed, that it is not necessary for us to assert that no miracles were wrought in the post-apostolic ages; all we affirm is, that the evidence is wholly unsatisfactory, and that scepticism with regard to them, is all that the immense preponderance of evidence will justify. If any can plead exception, it is the miraculous frustration of Julian’s attempt to rebuild the temple. If true, it was at all events wrought, not in suspicious connexion with monkish superstitions, or in support of them, but, as Mr Waddington justly observes, in confirmation of the Christian faith itself, in a most critical juncture of its history. Even this, however, has been most fiercely litigated; and supposing the main facts true, it becomes very questionable whether they are of a nature strictly miraculous—an observation which applies strongly, as Mosheim truly observes, to the so-called miracle of the ‘Thundering Legion,’ as well as to many others.* He himself was amongst the ‘doubters.’

But though we would freely rest the question on the unsatisfactory state of the general evidence, we do not shrink from affirming, that in the individual cases best avouched, the evidence is altogether inadequate. We will take one of the strongest—that of the Ambrosian miracles—and in selecting this, even Mr Newman will not charge us with taking a weak one. He, on the contrary, appeals to it with peculiar triumph. The circumstances were briefly these:—Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in the very crisis of his quarrel with the Empress Justina, who had vainly solicited one of the churches of the city for the use of the Arians, was about to consecrate the sumptuous Basilic, afterwards called by his name. The people were anxious, as was the custom of those ages,

* The reader will find an admirable and candid statement of the arguments for and against the ecclesiastical miracles, in Jortin’s *Remarks*, vol. i. p. 247.

to deposit in the sacred edifice the relics of some martyr; for relics had long been the palladium of cities—a panacea in all sorts of diseases—the terror of demons—the oracle of those who were in any wise troubled in mind, body, or estate—and the sources of multitudinous miracles. Ambrose, nothing loth, promised to comply, provided he could hit upon the genuine article; and he tells us, that he instantly had a happy presentiment that so it would be—*Statimque subiit veluti cujusdam ardor presagii*. Just before the consecration took place, he was, according to Paulinus and Augustine, (though he does not mention it in his own account, to his sister Marcellina,) favoured by a vision of the *hitherto unheard-of* martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, who, propitious to so pious a design as that which filled his bosom, sped from the skies to acquaint him with their names, date of martyrdom, and place of sepulture. He ordered the indicated place to be dug, and soon found auspicious signs—*inveni signa convenientia*—and at length came to the bodies—‘two men ‘of wonderful stature, such as *ancient* times produced’—(about two centuries before!)—‘the bones all whole, and plenty of fresh ‘blood.’ ‘*Invenimus miræ magnitudinis viros duos, ut prisca ætas ferebat. Ossa omnia integra, sanguinis plurimum.*’ The heads were separate from the bodies, and the ground all round soaked with blood, which, considering that the flesh had all decayed and disappeared, may be considered a complication of miracles of two hundred years’ standing; unless, indeed, we suppose the blood had been *new created* for the occasion. However that may be, *sanguine tumulus madet*—the whole tomb was wet with it. As the workmen approached the martyrs’ resting-place, the skeletons began to bestir themselves in such powerful sort, that an urn was thrown with violence from its pedestal, and rolled to the sacred spot; and some of the ‘possessed,’ who had been brought on such a promising occasion to be exorcised, began to howl and scream in most lamentable wise, thus giving no less respectable attestation than that of the ‘father of lies himself,’ to the power of the glorious martyrs. The relics, blood and bones, were carefully removed to the new Basilic, and on the road many miracles were wrought on diseased and possessed persons, who were so happy as to touch them; and such was their virtue, that even to touch the fringe of the pall which covered them, was sufficient. Amongst others, a *butcher*, named Severus, who had been some time blind, and had, on that account, quitted business, at least for all *secular* purposes, was miraculously restored to sight. The pious people were naturally anxious that the remains should not

be removed till the next Sunday, but Ambrose, for some reason best known to himself, was anxious to use despatch, and would delay the important business only two days. The miracles were completely successful. The 'opposite party' derided them as cunningly devised tricks—*ludibria ficta et composita*—the orthodox were confirmed in their orthodoxy; and the opportune supply of martyrs' blood was worked up into a precious paste or confection, and distributed in small portions over all parts of Christendom;—each warranted to have—which we doubt not to have been the case—all the virtues of the unadulterated article.

On reading this narrative, some will exclaim—'You need go no further—the recital is enough. We cannot analyse all the reasons of the impression, but the impression itself is instant and indelible.' Others will say, 'The miracles in their whole circumstances—in the purposes for which they were wrought—in the entire religious tone and spirit pervading them, are so different from those of the New Testament, that it is an insult to ask us to believe *both*.' Others will say, 'Can we believe in such a complication and profusion of miracles, inconceivable under any circumstances, in connexion with such a sordid, beggarly system of superstition?' Others again, 'The whole narrative too strongly resembles similar recitals of multitudinous miracles of the same ages—miracles which every one rejects as either the inventions of knavery or the delusions of credulity; it may be safely left to be judged by the *general* state of the evidence, on which you have already said so much.' And we agree with all these; but yet beg distinctly to affirm that, judged on its own merits, the case is *not* supported by any thing like the amount and quality of evidence necessary to avouch facts only a hundredth part so wonderful. Let us look at the authorities. They are principally three—Paulinus, Augustine, Ambrose himself.

Paulinus, the secretary of Ambrose, though a good man, was completely enslaved by superstition. He had such an appetite for the marvellous, that, as we have already remarked, he has related much which men of *every party* would summarily reject. Similar observations, in a certain degree, apply to Augustine. Most cordially are we disposed to agree with Mr Taylor, who, on another occasion, represents that Father as the dupe of his own credulity, not the machinator of fraud. We must not, however, forget the observation already cited from the impartial and candid Mosheim. Eminent men of those days have advocated maxims which, if such an alternative were necessary, would render it much easier to suppose even Augustine 'the machinator of fraud,'

than that all the prodigies he relates are true. But we are not driven to this alternative. Augustine's credulity is sufficient to account for his conduct; and this his own credulous recitals of other miracles sufficiently prove. As in the case of Paulinus, no man believes one tenth of them.

Why, then, should Paulinus and Augustine be believed in this instance? Will it be said that, if honest men, the miraculous nature of the facts could not be doubted? So far from it, that there is nothing in the facts which might not have been easily *managed*, and with sufficient dexterity to impose on credulous simplicity. In other cases, the difficulty is to account for the alleged events—supposing them as they appeared—by any thing less than miraculous agency; in the present case, the only difficulty is to suppose them *caused* by miraculous energy. Skeletons can be procured any where, and blood from any *butcher*, for a less price than the restoration of his eyesight.

But was Ambrose only the dupe of his own credulity? We doubt it; and, in justification of our doubts, would assign several circumstances not mentioned by Mr Taylor, nor, so far as we are aware, by any other writer in connexion with these miracles, though familiar enough to all readers of ecclesiastical history. We firmly believe, that Ambrose well knew what he was about. He had, as his whole history shows, a politic head, and understood thoroughly all the arts of popular management. He had been educated to the law, and was already holding the office of consular Præfect of the province, when he was summoned, yet unbaptized, to assume the episcopate. He was, or affected to be, exceedingly reluctant; but all his efforts were of no avail in those strange days, when compulsory ordination was not an unusual occurrence, and the most extraordinary devices were sometimes resorted to by the bishop-elect to avert the unwelcome honour. If we may believe Paulinus—and he mentions them apparently to his patron's honour—Ambrose, on this occasion, employed some of those little arts of management which illustrate his subtlety much better than his principles. He ordered some criminals to be tortured, in order to beget a notion of a ferocity of temper, not exactly befitting a Christian prelate.* The artifice failed. He then ordered that abandoned women should publicly repair to him, just to establish a character for licentiousness.† Surely he who

* 'Tunc, contra consuetudinem suam, tormenta jussit personis adhiberi.' —*Paulinus*, (*Vita Ambrosii*.)

† 'Publicas mulieres publice ad se ingredi fecit, ad hoc tantum, ut visis his populi intentio revocaretur. At vero populus magis magisque

would thus palter with his own character would act a becoming part in the forthcoming 'miracle-play.' But this, too, failed. The accommodating people were resolved to have him for their Bishop, even though he should prove himself not a Christian. 'Thy sin be upon us,' they cried—*Peccatum tuum super nos*. Such acts are not insignificant indications of character.

But again. When a certain Bishop had amused himself with burning down a Jewish synagogue, and the Emperor Theodosius insisted—surely a most reasonable demand—that the perpetrators of the act should rebuild it, the 'holy Ambrose' not only wrote a most haughty and unbecoming letter to the Emperor to induce him to reverse his sentence, (itself most iniquitous,) but declared, though, in fact, not true, that *he* had instigated the deed. 'Quid mandas in absentes judicium? 'Habes præsentem, habes confitentem reum. Proclamo quod 'ego synagogam incenderim; certe quod ego illis mandaverim; 'ne esset locus in quo Christus negaretur.' He thinks the party accused, even though innocent, would be justified in the like course. 'Ne amittat occasionem martyrii, et pro invalidis sub-jiciat validiorem; '* and then exclaims, 'O beatum mendacium!' As a candid Roman Catholic (Dupin) observes, 'Piety knows nothing of these "beata mendacia;"' and we much fear that he who would tell a 'blessed lie' for the honours of martyrdom, would do as much on behalf of a less momentous object.

Further, in sundry of his works, Ambrose has gone as far, or further, than any of his contemporaries, in those perilous apologies for certain moral delinquencies of the saints of the Old Testament—Scripture, be it observed, never apologizes for them—which, we have no doubt, was both a cause and a consequence of that obliquity of mind which familiarized the maxim, that eminent saints may sometimes 'do evil that good may come;' and that we must not presume to sit in judgment even on their apparent enormities. His doings in this respect are thus spoken of in Tract 89, (*On the Mysticism of the Fathers*), even by an apologist—'Ambrose, who comes as near as any writer to a 'questionable plea from the mystical interpretation, as though it 'in some degree palliated the sin.'—Such are the authorities. On the circumstantial evidence we shall not enter; though the

'clamabat—"Peccatum tuum super nos."—*Ib.* Paulinus begins his narrative with a little request, with which the reader will find it hard absolutely to comply; but, so far as these incidents go, we may well believe him—'Quamobrem obsecro vos omnes, in quorum manibus 'liber iste versabitur, ut credatis vera esse quæ scripsimus.'

* *Epistola XL., Classis I.*

trade of Severus, the little *overdoing* in the alleged gigantic stature of the martyrs, and the haste employed, are surely not insignificant. It is of more importance to observe, that the party of Ambrose was the more powerful; that no effectual tests could be applied; and, lastly, that the parties asserting the miracles suffered nothing by them, and gained much. We now ask, whether the evidence is such as would justify us in receiving so stupendous an event as a miracle, much less such a complication of miracles?

Mr Newman is full of pious horror at the idea of the possible machination of these miracles, and asserts that those who believe it 'to be impiety too daring, too frightful, too provocative of even an immediate judgment, for any but the most callous hearts, and the most reckless consciences to conceive it, would not believe even plausible evidence for it.'—(P. 189.) 'The answer is very simple, and is one of fact. Ecclesiastical history abounds in fictitious miracles, even Mr Newman admits; and the maxims and spirit of antiquity leave us no room to wonder at them. One would think that he had never heard of 'pious frauds.' Whether Ambrose in particular be thought capable of them, will be determined by the indications of his character, and the known practices of his age.

We have selected a single case, and thus minutely discussed it, because such a course is the most likely to strike common minds. Our opponents will not deny, that we have taken a very *favourable* specimen. The reader, then, can now judge for himself how far he may depend on the recitals of such miracles as these, which, together with that church system out of which they sprang, and with which they are so closely implicated, this country is invited, in the nineteenth century, to regard with an awful and implicit belief.

The other miracles which Mr Newman more especially defends are, 'the Thundering Legion;' 'The change of water into oil by St Narcissus of Jerusalem, to supply the lamps on the vigil of Easter'—on which he characteristically remarks, after Dodwell, that 'the mystical idea connected with the sacred lights gives a *meaning* to it, and particularly at that season;' 'The miracle wrought on the course of the river Lycus by Gregory Thaumaturgus'—in fact, as usual, a bundle of miracles; 'The discovery,' or, as it is often aptly called, 'The invention of the Holy Cross;' and 'The miracle upon the African confessors in the Arian persecution, mutilated by Hunneric,' by which some *sixty* men, whose tongues had been cut out to the roots, were enabled to speak as well as ever all their lives after!

The arguments by which Mr Newman maintains his general views on the subject of miracles, we have no space to notice in detail. In fact, the whole Essay is one tissue of elaborate sophistry. A few, however, which may be dismissed very briefly, may give the reader an idea of their general sophistry:—

‘*It looks like a mere truism to say, that a fact is not disproved because it is not proved.*’ . . . ‘Douglas, in his defence of the New Testament miracles, in answer to Hume, certainly assumes that no miracle is true which has not been proved to be so; or that it is safe to treat all miracles as false which are not recommended by evidence as strong as that which is adducible for the miracles of Scripture.’* Answer: It looks like a mere truism to say, that a fact is unproved so long as it is not proved. The one truism is as good as the other; and neither is of any value in a case like the present. The very question is that of *proof*. Whether an alleged miracle ever took place or not, is nothing to us, apart from sufficient evidence to substantiate it. A miracle not proved is of as little force, for any religious purpose, as a miracle disproved. The only difference is, as between absolute scepticism and absolute unbelief. ‘If it be asked,’ says Jortin, ‘when miraculous powers ceased in the Church, the proper answer seems to be, that these miracles cease to us when we cease to find satisfactory evidence for them.’ Mr Newman is so infatuated as to think, that so far as antecedent probability is concerned, ecclesiastical miracles are more advantageously circumstanced than those of Scripture, because inspiration has stood the brunt of any such antecedent objection, (p. 15.) Answer: It is obvious that this advantage, such as it is, is more than counterbalanced by the fact, that the miraculous agency *had been* exerted; for it is antecedently improbable that its recurrence should be perpetually repeated, after the system it avouched had been once established. He asks, ‘How *insufficiency* in the evidence can create a positive prejudice against an alleged fact?’ (p. 68.) Answer: The evidence does not *create* the prejudice, but is not strong enough to remove it. We suppose, even Mr Newman will not deny that some events are more improbable than others. For example, that a man should talk without a tongue is not quite so probable as that he should talk with it; and the very same evidence, we suspect, which would be sufficient to induce Mr Newman to believe the latter, would not be *sufficient* to make him believe the former. The spirit of the maxim of Middleton, cited by Douglas, and argued against by Newman, is acted

*Essay, p. 67.

upon by every man of common sense. The evidence we demand for alleged miracles is necessarily higher than that we demand for ordinary events. To take a practical case. Would Mr Newman, if told that one of his Oxford brethren had, like Martin of Tours, commanded a tree, in the act of falling upon him, to 'recover' itself, reel over, and fall on the other side, believe him as readily as he would if the same person had told him that the tree fell in the ordinary way? If not, Mr Newman need not have constructed his sophistical objection—that insufficient evidence cannot *create* a prejudice against an alleged fact, but must avail so far as it goes. Enough that it is not sufficient to overcome the prejudice; and, where a ton is required for an equipoise, an ounce, though it may be something towards it, will be very little, and, for practical purposes, nothing. The sophism is the more flagrant, that Middleton includes in his notion of 'insufficient or defective evidence,' such as 'justifies the suspicion of fraud and imposture;' not such evidence as, though slight, is unexceptionable so far as it goes, but such as is attended with circumstances of a suspicious nature; and even Mr Newman admits (p. 69) that this is a sufficient reason for doubt or denial. Merely 'defective' evidence, he thinks, may be the 'very trial of our obedience!' If so, he may well rank in the very first class in this school of perfection.

Mr Newman tells us that the feeling in Douglas, Middleton, and men in general, respecting the ecclesiastical miracles, 'turns much less on the evidence producible for them, than on our view concerning their antecedent probability.' We are thoroughly convinced that in the mind of such writers, and of every candid enquirer, it will turn equally on both; and that, strong as is the adverse impression from the *a priori* improbability of such miracles, it is not less strong than is derived from that ragged state of the evidence on which we have said so much.

Mr Newman frankly admits that an enquirer should not enter upon the miracles, reported or alleged in ecclesiastical history, without being prepared for fiction and exaggeration to an *indefinite extent*, (p. 105.) A candid admission. Nay, 'he must not expect that more than a few can be exhibited with evidence of so cogent and complete a character as to demand his acceptance.' But then, as he says, what should hinder him from *believing* more? 'An alleged miracle is not untrue because it is unproved—nor is it excluded from our *faith* because it is not admitted into our controversy. Some are for our *conviction*, and these we are to confess with the mouth, as well as believe with the heart—others for our comfort and encouragement, and these we are to keep and ponder them in our hearts,

‘without urging them on unwilling ears,’ (p. 106.) As the author of Tract No. 89 wishes the reader of the Fathers to regard the opinion of any one of them, however fantastical, with reverence, because ‘it *may* be sacred,’ so Mr Newman would have his readers receive miracles without evidence, out of awe ‘to Him of whom ‘they *may* possibly be telling.’ If the human mind can but be got to this happy pass, such authors well know that there is nothing which may not be palmed upon it.

Mr Newman frequently insists that there is no difficulty in believing the ecclesiastical miracles amongst those who admit the church system: this is very true, we grant; but then these miracles are not the evidence which confirms faith, but which faith confirms. ‘To those who admit the Catholic doctrines, as enunciated in the Creed, and commented on by the Fathers, the subsequent expansion and variation of supernatural agency in the Church, instead of suggesting difficulties, will seem but parallel, as they are contemporaneous, to the *developments, additions, and changes* in dogmatic statements which have occurred between the apostolic and the present age, and which are but a result and ‘an evidence of life,’ (p. 63.) But though faith, (in which we quite agree,) seems a pre-requisite for receiving the ecclesiastical miracles, it is not difficult to see whither Mr Newman’s zeal tends. He knows full well that if he can but establish the belief of any large portion of the ecclesiastical miracles, especially those in connexion with his favourite institutes, he will induce the belief of the divine origin of those institutes. So stupendous is the idea of supernatural interposition, that the unsophisticated sense of mankind will immediately connect it with the authoritative sanction of the religion which it attests. ‘These miracles,’ says the ecclesiastical historian, Socrates, after detailing some achievements of certain Egyptian monks, ‘prove the truth of the doctrines.’ * * * ‘But,’ adds Jortin, ‘the difficulty is to prove the truth of the *miracles* to the satisfaction of any reasonable enquirer.’

This Mr Newman provides for, by first bespeaking a sufficient faith in the divinity of the church system. Then, doubtless, after faith has confirmed the miracles—the miracles again will confirm the faith! Nor have we the slightest doubt that this was really exemplified in the history of the early Church. Superstition cherished miracles, and miracles sanctioned superstition. They were amongst those things of which Aristotle tells us in his Second Analytics, ‘That they reciprocally involve one another’—*Επονται ἀλλήλοις τὸ μέσον καὶ οἱ ἄκροι.*

The slenderest resemblances will serve Mr Newman for argument. He perceives, it seems, in the monstrosities of the eccle-

siastical miracles, as compared with those of Scripture, an analogy like that between wild and tame animals. As we see in the former much that appears grotesque, deformed, ludicrous, ('if the word may be used with due soberness,') yet doubt not that a divine hand formed them, so may it be with those fantastic and grotesque movements of the supernatural with which church history abounds. Unhappily, the analogy fails just where it ought to hold. In the meanest productions of animated nature we can discern inimitable proofs of power, wisdom, and, to the individual being, goodness; but of numberless miracles it must be admitted that nothing can be traced, supposing them real, except capricious fantastic power. Mr Newman, indeed, is pleased to say, 'There is far greater difference between the appearance of a horse or an eagle and a monkey, or a lion and a mouse, as they meet our eye, than between the most august of the divine manifestations in Scripture and the meanest and most fanciful of those legends which we are accustomed, without further examination, to cast aside,' (p. 49.) Let the reader take a practical test—let him peruse first the narrative of the resurrection of Lazarus, and then Palladius' account of a hyena coming to confess to a solitary the crime of having killed a sheep; and then consider whether the interval between the lion and the mouse, as severally indicating Divine power and wisdom, be the greater.

What are Mr Newman's notions of a miracle, it is, after all, very hard to say; and we can scarcely doubt that he has purposely left them in obscurity. In one place he enlightens us by saying, that if we admit the fact of a Divine Presence in the church, miracles then become but the *natural* effects of *supernatural* agency! This is dark enough; but Mr Newman has involved the subject in a yet deeper cloud, by conjecturing, that miraculous interference is not an occasional infraction of fixed laws for a high object, but part of a system extending through all time—in these and in the Middle Ages, as well as in that of the Apostles. According to this theory, miraculous events differ from ordinary events only as the movements of some comets differ from those of the planets; they have a centre of revolution and fixed periods of recurrence—only moving in orbits less regular and less calculable by science. We rather think Mr Newman will find that they move in enormous hyperboles, have passed their perihelion, and will visit our system no more. However, we give his conjecture in his own words. 'The ordinary providence of God is conducted on a *system*; and, as even creation is now contemplated by philosophers as possibly subject to fixed laws, so it is more probable than not, that there is also a law of supernatural manifestations. And thus the occurrence of miracles

‘is rather a presumption for than against their recurrence, such events being not isolated acts, but the symptoms of the presence of an agency.’—(P. 22.)

Yet Mr Newman is very accommodating in his notions of what events may be miraculous. In his comment on the Miracle of the Thundering Legion—which, supposing the facts all true, is *not* miraculous, as he himself admits—he says, ‘Nor does it concern us much to answer the objection, that there is nothing strictly miraculous in such an occurrence, because sudden thunder-clouds after drought are not unfrequent. I would answer, grant me such miracles ordinarily in the early Church, and I will ask no other; grant that, upon prayer, benefits are vouchsafed, deliverances are effected, unhopd-for results obtained,’ &c.—(P. 121.) Answer: here, as in so many places of Mr Newman’s writings, is the fallacy of vague expression. If by ‘ordinarily’ he means *uniformly* and *instantaneously*, he may well consider *such* connexion between ‘prayer’ and its fulfilment, though not strictly miraculous, to have all the evidence of miracle. His only difficulty will then be to prove such connexion. If he does not mean this—and surely he cannot mean it—the proof of the miraculous character of the events is altogether delusive—neutralized by the failing cases; not to mention that all religious communities have their thousands of cases of special answers to prayer—which, by Mr Newman’s theory, must immediately pass for miracles. ‘They may or they may not, in this or that case, *follow* or surpass the laws of nature, and they may do so *plainly* or *doubtfully*, but the common sense of mankind will call them miraculous,’ (p. 122.) At this rate there will be miracles enough. What is this but to involve the whole subject in the uttermost confusion?

But it is in vain to attempt a refutation of all Mr Newman’s sophisms. Almost every page supplies one. Suffice it to say, that on Mr Newman’s principles, sufficient evidence may be adduced in favour of many miraculous legends of almost all religions, ancient and modern. Are these to be received as true or not? If the former, what becomes of the evidence of miracles?—what of Christianity itself? If the latter, why are the ecclesiastical miracles, standing on evidence not less faulty, to be received?

We will go yet further. If all the legends, and legends like them, to which Mr Newman applies his principles, are to be believed, we really know no limit to which popular credulity may not be pushed; whether men may not be brought to believe such martyrologies as that of the Egyptian saint Apa Till, who, according to an *eye-witness*, suffered martyrdom after being cut to pieces, ten times in the course of as many days, by the tyrant

Maximin, and every night put together again by the angel Gabriel! Nay, we know not whether admiring crowds may not hereafter gaze with veneration on such precious relics as 'Gabriel's feather,' or gravely listen to some Eulenspiegel of future days, who shall tell them that he has 'some of the bottled rays of the star of Bethlehem, and some of the sounds of the bells used at Solomon's temple.'

We should not have dwelt thus long on the Essay of Mr Newman, were it not related in so momentous a way to the 'developments' now in progress. The principles it lays down are in course of rapid and extensive dissemination. In the Series entitled *Lives of the Saints*, as well as in many other publications, profound reverence and belief are inculcated towards both the miracles of the Middle Ages, and the church system out of which they sprang, with which they are implicated in many a serpentine fold of fraud and delusion, and which they necessarily authenticate. The fabulous, monstrous legends connected with the shadowy age of Germanus the Gallic missionary to Britain, and Alban the protomartyr, are reverently commended to our belief, though acknowledged to be destitute of all historic evidence. It is the prerogative of faith to believe without it.

In the same series, the penances, pilgrimages, the monasticism, and the grotesque and degrading superstitions of the Middle Ages, are commended to our ardent veneration.*

The same spirit is at work not only in literature—not only in controversial and pseudo-historical works—in translations

* Of the extent to which Mr Newman is ready to apply the principles of his Essay, the reader may judge by the advertisement to the second number of the 'Lives of the Saints,' (*Family of St Richard the Saxon*), in which he gravely takes under his protection the miracles of St Walburga, and especially that of the 'miraculous oil,' which for many a year dropped from her tomb—'flowing more freely at the time of the 'blessed sacrifice,'—always evaporating, if handled irreverently,—hanging suspended like a 'bunch of grapes,' if there was no vessel to receive it, and discreetly refusing to fall into any that was not perfectly clean!! The author of the 'Life of St Austin,' after retailing the miracles which attended the conversion of Ethelbert, speaks of the 'obligation to impress, and if so be, inflict such solemn and mysterious facts upon the 'attention of a sceptical age,' (p. 103.) A happier expression could hardly have been devised.

Such is the revived admiration of monasticism, that one of these authors commends the hateful practice of consigning children to a monastic life, on the sole authority of their parents—one of the most odious abuses of the whole system.—(*Life of St Stephen*, 2, 5.) He is almost as bad as the holy Ambrose, who recommends young girls to retire to nunneries *against* the will of their parents!

from Romish missals and books of devotion, but is disclosed in manifold petty but practical indications ;—in efforts to revive the honours of the Calendar—in solicitous attempts to restore mediæval remains—in modes of printing and binding—in a large consumption of red ink, vellum, brass clasps, and antique ornaments—in a profuse use of crosses and triangles, and other Catholic symbols, and, in many instances, in most daring innovations on public ritual and worship. The Middle Ages have no doubt, and that largely, their poetical and picturesque aspects ; but is it possible, we are ready to exclaim, that any minds should surrender themselves to *such aspects alone*, and that history should have read all her sterner lessons in vain ?—that the substantial horrors, the degrading ignorance and misery of those ages, should all be, not merely mellowed by time, but lost in the distance, and only the phases which fancy loves to dwell upon, cherished ? So it seems ; and thousands of the young, the imaginative, and the ardent, are ready, on the faith of such representations as those in the *Lives of the Saints*, to surrender their reason and their common sense to these portentous illusions. The Knight of Cervantes never abandoned himself to delicious musings on the faded glories of chivalry, more madly than these sentimentalists to visions of mediæval excellence. It is in vain to reason with them : if we speak of the veriest mummeries of that period, it will be said, ‘but what a deep feeling of faith’ accompanied these seeming follies ! Nay, if we were to speak of the very crimes of those ages, we verily believe that many would exclaim—‘but ‘with what simplicity of mind they were committed !’

We cordially pity the man who is so unimaginative, that he cannot sympathize with all that is poetical and picturesque in the Middle Ages, or enjoy the pleasant fictions which may be founded on them ; but we pity *him* far more, whose imagination leads him to forget the real in the ideal, and who would fain invite back the ignorance, superstition, tyranny, and priestcraft of the past, because of the beauties of Gothic arches, and church music. The antiquary dilates in rapture on the half-filled moat and the crumbling portcullis, but he is not quite fool enough to wish for the restoration of that feudal vassalage and tyranny, of which they are the memorials. The noble owner can admire those mouldering ruins in a remote nook of his domain, which mark the site of the Gothic towers of his feudal ancestors, and love to show them to his visitors, but he would not much relish the fitting them up for present residence.

‘ Here while our squire the modern part possess’d,
His partial eye upon the old would rest ;
That best his *comforts* gave—this sooth’d his feelings best.’

In fact, however, we are so little afraid of any wholesale restoration of the past by *dilettanti* enthusiasts, that we are convinced they would be the first to shrink from it, could it be recalled. Little accustomed to analyse their own emotions, they are ignorant that their sensitive fancy, which now luxuriates amidst the images of self-created beauty, would recoil with corresponding loathing from the actual deformities of the reality. They hate the present, principally because it is the present; and love the past, because it is the past: if the past could be made the present, their feelings would quickly change.

Of all this we have pretty good proof in the entire absence of any thing like *real* sacrifices on the part of these fond enthusiasts. Though, in truth, no more members of the English church than they are Muezzins of the grand Mosque, they cannot prevail on themselves to give up fellowships or livings for conscience' sake. The author of the life of 'Stephen Harding, Founder of the Cistercian Order,' commences with a sort of whining lamentation, that 'we cannot give up all for Christ, if we would; and while other portions of the Church can suffer for His sake, we must find our cross in sitting still, to watch in patience the struggle which is going on about us.' If we may believe these men, they envy the privations of ancient solitaries, and sigh for the sufferings of ancient confessors. Now, why cannot they 'suffer,' except for the very sufficient reason, that they do not *like* suffering? For any thing we can see, they can at least surrender the emoluments of the church in which they are giving so much scandal; can give honest effect to their convictions, by acknowledging allegiance to the Church of Rome; if they so please, can even build log-huts with their own hands, live in woods, and play all the pranks of asceticism, as well as any of their spiritual ancestors. But with all their admiration of martyrs and martyrdom, we never knew men more ignominiously exempt from the martyr spirit. They seem to be of Uncle Toby's opinion, as expressed before the tomb of St Maxima, (who, it seems, had been buried two centuries before her canonization,)—'Tis but a slow rise, brother Toby,' quoth my father, 'in this self-same army of martyrs.' 'A desperate slow one, an' please your honour,' said Trim, 'unless one could purchase.' 'I should rather sell out entirely,' quoth my uncle Toby.

We would forewarn the young and the ardent, that they will no more be likely to attain a correct view of mediæval religion from such publications as the *Lives of the Saints*, than they will gain a knowledge of history by reading romances. It is possible to relate even *facts* in such a way as to produce all the effects of fiction, by habitual suppression of *other facts* vitally

related to them, and essential to any just inferences from them. It is easy to draw elegant pictures of quiet monastic solitudes in the depth of forests, and romantic hermitages on mountain cliffs; to make sweet music of the matin and the vesper-bells; to vary and vivify the scene with processions and pilgrimages; to strew the page which describes them with flowers of rhetoric and pious sentimentalities; and to diffuse over the whole the awe of a 'Divine presence,' and its attendant miracles. But if the reader would attain a fuller and a more accurate knowledge, he must consult some of the living pictures drawn by contemporaneous hands, and these, we will venture to say, will quickly dispel the illusion. One document of this kind, easily obtained, very brief, and deeply instructive, we have much pleasure in recommending to their attention. We refer to the *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, originally printed in the valuable publications of the 'Camden Society;' of which a well-executed translation, in a very cheap form, has been published, under the title, 'Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century, as exemplified in the Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond, Monk of St Edmundsbury, from A.D. 1173 to A.D. 1202.' Abbot Sampson, the hero of the *Chronicles*, was, in his way, a reformer of the abuses of his monastery, and, so far as regards its revenues and economy, a very effective one; but, though it is obvious that the writer is partial and lenient—in fact, a panegyrist, rather than an historian—and though he evidently conceals the more gross abuses which this Luther of the Middle Ages was to reform, there is absolutely nothing, even after those reforms are effected, which brings the narrative within a thousand leagues of the sympathies and sentiments of any man familiar with the pages of the New Testament. It is difficult to conceive, without reading the work, the totally foreign air which every thing wears. In relating the transactions of one of the wealthiest and most powerful religious houses in Christendom, there is scarcely an approach, however transient or incidental, to a Christian truth, or a Christian sentiment. The very name of the blessed Founder of Christianity does not once occur; and Scripture, though often cited, is constantly cited in some eccentric, often absolutely grotesque, application. 'Through-
' out the whole of Jocelin's Chronicle,' says the translator, in his Preface, 'the name of our Saviour is never once mentioned; God and St Edmund, and the Abbot and St Edmund, are phrases of common occurrence: indeed nothing short of a narrative of this description could fully develope the depravation of the Christian religion by the means of saint worship.'

Mr Carlyle, in his 'Past and Present,' speaking of Abbot Sampson, remarks, that he was 'no sham'—and so far forth as

he was a man deeply in earnest in increasing the wealth and power of his monastery, and in asserting its secular privileges, he certainly was none; but of the *religious* system with which he stood connected, and part of which he administered, we must profess our unfeigned belief, that a more thorough 'sham' the sun never shone upon.

We have expressed our conviction that the attempts to resuscitate the effete system of the Middle Ages, to renew its decrepit superstitions, must be futile. It by no means, follows however, that the efforts of the party whose original principles have legitimately led to these extreme views, can be safely neglected. They have done much mischief; and are daily doing more. In spite of the present symptoms of disorganization—in spite of a certain amount of reaction, they are still exerting a most pernicious influence. It is undeniable that their principles have taken a strong hold on the clergy, particularly the younger part of the body, and through them on thousands of the people. During the ten years in which those principles have been promulgated, an entire generation of the clergy have passed from the halls of the university to the scenes of active life, where they are, in different ways, endeavouring to realize their 'Catholic ideal.' Even if Dr Pusey and Mr Newman stand rebuked for extravagance, or have been visited with censure, they have in a good measure effected their object. They will survive in their disciples; the flower will not have faded till the capsule shall have burst, and scattered its deleterious dust to every wind of heaven.

It is impossible adequately to describe the various distractions with which the Oxford School has managed to tear the church and nation in pieces, in its Quixotic search for Catholic unity. Not a few, as we have seen, openly declare for a surrender to Rome, though they are still members of the English church, and avowedly explain away the Articles to which they have solemnly sworn assent. By many more, who do not go quite so far, we find the more pernicious parts of the Romish system eagerly insisted upon—for example, clerical celibacy, monastic institutions, and the practices of a paltry asceticism.* A still greater number are busy in introducing superstitious innovations into public worship,

* It is true, indeed, that from that absence of the heroic spirit of which we have already spoken, these last practices are of a very moderate kind—humble imitations, at which the ancient heroes of asceticism would have smiled in contempt even in their noviciate. Mr Froude records that he was never so confirmed in celestial virtue as to be absolutely impregnable to the temptations of 'roast goose and buttered toast.'

which fully proclaim the Romanist tendency of the system. There are many whose consciences are so tender, that they *must* act in compliance with every obsolete rubric; and yet so accommodating, that they can approve of all the latitude of Tract No. 90; and there are as many more who are zealous for rites and symbols which no rubric sanctions. Amidst crosses, crucifixes, triangles, anchors, doves, fishes, and garlands, theology promises, like algebra, to be entirely a science of symbols; but, unlike algebra, to have nothing to do with demonstration. Then there are controversies as insignificant as the quadragesiman, carried on with all the bitterness of those which originated in the Arian or Pelagian heresies. There is the great 'surplice' question, in which it is disputed whether white or black be the most orthodox colour to preach in; there is the great 'wax-candle' question, which again is divided into two momentous branches—first, whether there shall be lights at all, and secondly, whether they shall be lighted. To these may be added the great 'offertory' question, and the equally momentous 'pew and gallery' question.

Nor are the results of the present movement, to the extent in which they may prevail, more degrading to enlightened piety, than they are destructive of all mutual charity. Within the Church, it leads to all sorts of unseemly squabbles between bishops and priests, and between priests and their congregations; without the Church, to the exhibition of principles and conduct absolutely fatal, if fairly carried out, to social unity. Not only are there instances of maidens sent unmarried from the altar, because bride or bridegroom is found to be not baptismally regenerated—not only are alliances advised to be broken off, though hearts may be broken at the same time, because one of the parties is only a Christian and not a churchman—not only is innocent childhood refused a place in consecrated earth, because it has never been sprinkled with the waters of life, by the only fingers that can insure them vitality—not only is the repose of the sepulchre invaded, and humanity itself insulted, under the name of scruples of conscience—not only may we sometimes hear bigotry opposing a project of a public cemetery, because, horrible incongruity! an orthodox corpse and a schismatical corpse may perchance lie side by side—but we have read pamphlets systematically advocating principles which would involve the complete disruption of all social ties. Kindred in spirit with these polemical inanities is the more dangerous nonsense of a widely diffused popular literature, in which the worst animosities of the past are revived, only to aggravate the worst animosities of the present; and in which it is hard to say whether the perversions of historic truth, or the violations of common charity, are the most extravagant. Lastly, in the

'ballads' of such men as Mr Neale, that worthy Pindar of Puseyism, we find a bigotry of which contempt itself could say nothing more bitter, than that it is perfectly worthy of the doggerel which embodies it.

That there must be some curious oppugnancies in the public documents and formularies of the Church of England, may be inferred, not only from the circumstances under which the church was founded, and the delicate difficulties which required adjustment, but from the present extraordinary diversities which are discovered within her pale. If, however, the articles and formularies will really warrant all who are now in the church to *continue* in it—the men who denounce 'church principles' as fatal corruptions, and those who defend them as vital truths—those who affirm that the Reformation was a great blessing, and those who, with Mr Ward, think it was a great crime—those who have sworn to certain articles in two opposite senses, and some, it appears, who aver that they assent to them in a 'non-natural sense'—that is, no sense at all—all that can be said is, that the articles are indeed 'articles of comprehension,' (to use a favourite phrase of the seventeenth century,) but assuredly they are not 'comprehensible.'

In what way men in the peculiar predicament of Mr Ward, Mr Newman, and many others, ought to be treated by the authorities of the Church, it does not become us to say. We gladly leave it to the consideration of those whom it concerns.* The author

* The Archbishop of Dublin, lamenting the want of all internal government in the church, and scandalized at the 'dangerous, disgraceful, and ruinous' spectacle, of men subscribing to the same documents in different senses, and in no determinate sense at all; charging each other with being 'unsound churchmen,' and reciprocally desiring each other to leave the Anglican communion, loudly calls for a *Convocation*. The Bishop of Ossory, on the score of expediency, as loudly deprecates it. In the present excited state of parties, he fears that it would be rather a struggle for ascendancy than a remedy for strife. He looks in vain for some *Æolus* who shall appease the anger of the *luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras* of present controversy.

'*Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
Circum claustra fremunt*'—

and as he listens to the ominous mutterings even of their imprisoned wrath, he feels that such an aperture for their outbreak as a *Convocation* would afford, would involve every thing in ungovernable uproar. It must be confessed that his terrors are by no means chimerical; that, in the present temper of parties, 'any thing like a calm consideration 'and satisfactory settlement of religious differences,' is out of the ques-

of the oft-cited article in the *Foreign and Colonial Review*, has touched on this subject, and his mode of reasoning is most extraordinary. 'What course,' he asks, 'will be pursued, what course ought to be pursued, towards those propagators of Catholic tenets and usages, who do not scruple to denounce Protestantism as a principle of unmixed evil, . . . who do not dissemble that, in their view, Rome, if not a true normal pattern of Christianity, is yet the best existing standard, and one to which we ought to seek to conform?'—(Pp. 594, 5.) Strange to say, he not merely thinks the authorities of the Church excusable in 'permitting their continuance' in it, but urges the malecontents themselves to remain. And the casuistry by which he supports it is not a little curious. He feels 'confident that their position in the Church of England is securely stayed upon the great Catholic principle of allegiance to her, as the ordinance of God for the government of their souls (!); that they reject with abhorrence the temptation to apostatize, and that in their case the discharge of the obligation of obedience will not be less, but rather more, resolute, because it entails another duty of crossing and mortifying their own tastes, and in some degree their own affections!' He adds with engaging piety, 'If their frame of mind and opinion, taken together with their circumstances, thus constrain them, by practical tests, to concentrate themselves with few extrinsic supports upon the single and simple will of God, (!) this at least cannot be denied, that they are pupils in a school of perfection.'—(P. 596.) This is, indeed, a view of the case worthy of Tract Ninety itself; perfectly novel and original. If Mr Newman, Dr Pusey, and others, can satisfy their own consciences of the propriety of remaining in the

tion, and that the object would rather be 'to determine which is to be the dominant, and which the subordinate party, if not, which is to remain in the church, and which is to be excluded from it.'

Meantime something ought to be done, and must be done, or equally effectual ruin will visit the Church in another form. The worn-out sophisms by which the clergy have hitherto been satisfied to defend Subscription; by which they have maintained that they are consistent in believing inconsistencies; that they receive, 'in the plain grammatical meaning,' things, some or other of which, *all* of them explain away in a 'non-natural sense;' and that they believe, *ex animo*, what they do not believe at all—cannot be any longer tolerated. The very flagrancy of such conduct as that vindicated in Tract 90, and consistently exemplified by Mr Ward, has tended to disclose the full enormities of the system, and to show the perils to public faith, morality, and decency which it involves.

Church, all we can do is to wonder at it. 'To their own master 'they stand or fall;' but to *urge* them to remain in a community in which their acts and opinions have given universal scandal—with whose articles and formularies sundry of their writings (not one of which has been retracted, but every one of which has been defended) have been condemned by competent authority as hopelessly inconsistent—in which Protestants and Romanists alike tell them that they cannot remain with honour, and implore them, if only for public decency's sake, either to retract, if they can, or to separate, if they cannot—to urge such men, we say, to remain, and on the ground that they are thereby 'mortifying and 'crossing their tastes,' that is, mortifying and crossing their convictions that the Romish and not the English church is the true exponent of Catholic Christianity—is indeed an extraordinary piece of jesuitry. It sounds in our ears almost as if one were to advise a man to mortify the inordinate love of truth by now and then telling a falsehood; or to crucify a passion for extreme sobriety, by throwing in the corrective of occasional intoxication. This is indeed a new species of spiritual discipline, by which a sensitive conscientiousness may be repressed, and individual convictions of truth stifled, in obedience to the will of God! We hope that this new asceticism will not spread, and that Mr Newman and Mr Ward, and their friends, may long be the only 'pupils in this new school of perfection.'

Mr Gladstone, if he be the author of the Article alluded to, must be acquitted of all evil intention; but we do not think the sentiments, however piously expressed, otherwise than most pernicious. This gentleman has had so much to say of that curious thing, a 'state conscience'—of the existence of which as a real entity, he seems to be as fully persuaded as was an ancient Realist of universal ideas—that he is too apt to forget the claims of the individual in the community; and sadly to abate what we cannot but think the sacred claims of the only Oracle to which man, in the last resort, can safely listen. His laxity in this respect we had occasion to remark, in connexion with a passage in his *Church Principles*, in which he sanctions the individual in acquiescing in doctrines and practices which the church enjoins, though his conscience may suspect or believe them wrong. For our parts, we want words to express our abhorrence of this doctrine. The only secure principle is that of Luther, as so energetically expressed before the Diet of Worms—'It is not safe to do any thing against 'conscience;' or that of a greater than Luther—'To him that 'doubteth,' an act 'is sin.' Once abandon—once loosen this keystone of practical morals, and the whole arch will fall in.

Whatever the repugnancies between some parts of the formu-

laries of the English church—and no candid mind can deny them—as little can such a mind deny that its prevailing spirit is essentially Protestant. It is so in its Articles—in any but Mr Ward's 'non-natural sense' of them; and throughout almost the whole Book of Homilies, it is even fiercely Protestant. Nay, of the fact of its Protestantism, its very existence as a *separate* church—made what it is by men, many of whom would have gone further if they could, many of whom would not have gone so far, and none of whom had any reason for doing the one or the other, except their 'private judgment'—is, and ever will be, an unanswerable argument. The writer, indeed, on whom we have commented, tells us, that 'they [the Reformers] are 'not authors or builders of the Church; they are men whose 'honour, be it what it may, must arise wholly from this, that 'they handed down, in better disclosed proportions, that which 'had been handed down to them.'* But then, what determined the measure of their 'disclosures,' and their notion of the said 'proportions,' but their own judgment? As well might an ancient Greek have denied that Phidias was the fabricator of the statue of Jupiter, on the ground that he only chiseled out, 'in well-disclosed proportions,' what had previously existed in the marble.

At the same time, it must be admitted, that the founders of the Church of England—for so *we* must call them—frequently indulged in language respecting the authority of the Fathers, antiquity, and tradition, which gives but too plausible a handle to the divines of the Oxford School;—language which was in fact inconsistent with what they were at the very moment doing. It is certain that they were as far from adopting, either in its letter or spirit, the model of the church of the fourth century—the church of Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, or Basil—as that of Luther; and yet they profess to be solicitous to follow the pattern of the 'ancient church,' and glibly appeal to the above Fathers of the fourth century among the rest! To account for the misquotations, false references, and irrelevant extracts, with which the 'Book of Homilies' abounds, Mr Taylor propounds an ingenious theory, which we have no doubt has some truth in it.† He conjectures that the Reformers, having read the Fathers in early life, very often cited the passages which would most plausibly countenance their doctrines in the hour of need, from their commonplace books, without a special reperusal of the originals, or much solicitude to examine the drift and connexion of passages.

* *Foreign Quarterly*, Oct. 1843, p. 577.

† *Ancient Christianity*.

That there is some truth in this we have no doubt ; indeed, it is not possible to attempt to verify the citations of the much more accurate controvertists of the next century—for example, Jeremy Taylor or Hall—without discovering, to our cost, in what a very loose way they often quoted the Fathers, and how much may be produced to confront such quotations, often even from the immediate context. But this is by no means the whole of the mystery. The simple fact is, that the Fathers contain insulated passages, which may be cited, with the utmost degree of plausibility, on both sides—the earlier ones yielding a greater number for Protestants, and the later for Romanists ; and though we firmly believe that upon the whole—especially if we go as far as the end of the fourth century—the Romanists will ever have the best of the argument in this precarious appeal to Patristic authority, there are unquestionably insulated passages, not a few, which will enable a Protestant to give some probable colouring to his views. These passages are of course more numerous the further we go back, and gradually desert us as we advance. Still the great ‘development’ or ‘corruption’ (whichever it be called) was continuous ; and the contest may be maintained by both sides at each point of this long frontier. Those gradual changes were from the very first in progress, which issued in what *we* call the gross delusions of the fourth century ; but which the Oxford divines would call the mature and full-blown system of Christianity. ‘If, in the beginning,’ as Gibbon truly observes, ‘of the fifth century, Tertullian or Lactantius had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr ; they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle, which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation.’ It is nevertheless quite as true, that in the age of Tertullian and Cyprian, the church was lavishing those exaggerated honours on martyrs and confessors, which naturally and successively paved the way for the superstitious worship of saints and veneration of relics. The ratio of change was not greater between the beginning of the third century and the end of the fourth, than between the end of the first and the middle of the third ; and the change was continuous all the way.

The present conflict of opinion must terminate either in a vigorous reaction—the symptoms of which we think we can already see—which will give the doctrines and principles of the Reformation a revived hold on the public mind, and the Biblical and Protestant elements in the Church of England their legitimate expansion ; or we shall be led back, step by step, to the darkness and superstitions of the Middle Ages. The ground of ‘church

‘principles’—of authoritative tradition, of the Fathers, of antiquity—is seen, by the progress of the Oxford school itself, and its present distractions, to be the most untenable of all; indeed, the whole theory is, and can be, only an indefinitely enlarged appeal to the exercise of ‘private judgment,’ conjoined with the pleasant condition that there shall be none; and an infallible method of multiplying diversities of opinion, with an assertion at the same time of the absolute necessity of Catholic unity.

We may confidently predict in what way the conflict will terminate, of which indeed it were almost treason to truth to entertain a doubt. Nor is it unfair, if we consult history, to draw even from the very extravagance of the pretensions and theories on which we have commented, an omen of brighter days. Many of the most memorable advances which the human mind has ever made in the direction of truth and freedom, have been made after a period of apparent retrocession; as if error and delusion must attain a certain degree of intensity, and be presented with a certain measure of grossness, before the indolence of the human mind can be adequately roused to vindicate its rights, and with these the claims of truth and of God. The darkest hour has ever preceded the dawn. It was the last insufferable insults of a Tetzels that roused the energies of Luther, and led to the Reformation. It was the attempt to neutralize concessions which had been already granted, that sealed the fate of the first Charles. It was the retrograde movement of James the Second that secured the Revolution. In like manner we predict, that the very progress of high church principles will precipitate their doom, by rousing the human mind, after a period of temporary delusion, to re-examine them. The present retrogression is but the recoil with which truth is preparing herself for a more energetic spring. It is the reflux, not of the ebbing, but of the advancing wave.

ART. II.—*The Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake, Knight.* By JOHN BARROW, Esq. 8vo. London: 1843.

THERE are some historical figures which seem to gain, and others to lose, in dignity and importance, when the achievements by which they have acquired a right to remembrance are collected from the pages of general history, into the form of biographical narrative. To the last class belong many of the favourites of fortune, and of those whose reputation is more owing to the happy conjunctures which brought out their energies, than to talent of that order which makes a way for itself; those, also, who are signalized by great but irregular actions, standing prominently forth in the course of an unequal life. The first comprehends especially those whose lives present marked features of unity of purpose and steadiness of action—whose performances are not merely great as insulated facts, but as developments of character—the men who abide in remembrance as substantive personages, not as mere names which serve as an index to the several interesting occurrences with which they are connected. Such a man, in an eminent degree, was the old maritime hero, whose life forms the subject of the interesting and instructive volume with which Mr Barrow has enriched our biographical literature.

The name of Drake is familiar enough to our imaginations in conjunction with many memorable accidents of his position—as the earliest of English sea-captains—the first freebooter who showed the way to the ‘treasure-house of the Indies’—the first circumnavigator of the globe—the conqueror of the Armada. But it is not until we have read his personal history that we are aware how much he really performed and underwent, and how much more he discovered and indicated to others—how much he influenced, in his own turn, that prevailing spirit of his age which made him what he was—and what a complete heroic narrative, in its degree, his career presents, when its circumstances are brought before the reader in continuous story.

As long as the old bucaniering spirit survived, Drake's life was a popular manual with all who took an interest in exploits of that character—in whose estimation he ranked as a superior kind of Captain Morgan or Blackbeard. His early adventures on the Spanish Main and Islands, when those regions, as yet untouched and defenceless, were ransacked by his handfuls of men, as they had been by Cortez and Pizarro, were the favourite portion of the narrative, and remained longest part of our popular

literature. The original authority for great part of these, was the curious old tract entitled, 'Sir Francis Drake revived—calling 'upon a dull and effeminate age to follow his noble steps for gold 'and silver'—published by his nephew in 1626, and copied, with more or less variation, into all the early compilations of voyages. It was even versified by Davenant, in one of his most trumpery operas, which is only curious as having been acted by an evasion of the law before the Restoration. Another principal source, is the relation of his voyage round the world, entitled the 'World Encompassed,'—also compiled by his nephew—seemingly in great measure from materials afforded by the Admiral himself;—especially if we are to judge by the test by which Dugald Dalgetty ascertained the identity of the Earl of Argyle, viz., that no one else would have spoken so well of him—for some important circumstances and transactions are evidently coloured in a remarkable manner. Most of the romantic history of Drake, if such we may call it, is to be found in these two publications; but, in process of time, the romance of bucaniering went out of date, and, though that of maritime discovery remains always popular, yet the story of the 'Golden Hind,' and her fortunes, was superseded by newer and more exciting narratives of sea-adventure. Sir Francis Drake, therefore, gradually shared the fate which ultimately befalls most mere men of action, and retired from the catalogue of popular heroes into that of bare names appended to great events. The last popular Memoir of his life, in as far as we are aware, is that written by Dr Johnson for the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' which presents nothing of particular importance, except that parts of it are well written, in the sage's nearest approach to an ordinary style. Among the critical and antiquarian writers who have resuscitated the old hero in modern times, he who has performed the task with the greatest love and zeal is Dr Southey; who has devoted many chapters to him in his 'Maritime History of England.' Allowing something for the sermonizing fashion in which the late Laureate was apt to treat all events and personages, he has done full justice to his materials; and not the least interesting part of his account of Drake's expeditions consists in his selections from Spanish authorities; which show how completely England and Drake were identified in the imagination of the enemies whom he fought, and bring his figure into bold relief from among the multitude of brother warriors who were engaged in the same illustrious service with himself. But the present author has added a new feature to the portrait of Drake, and which was wanting to its completion, by bringing together, from the national archives, many of his despatches and other writings, when employed in the public service. Some of these, it is true,

have been printed before—a fact which Mr Barrow should have mentioned ; but the bulk of them are wholly new to the public. We shall have occasion to refer frequently to these documents, not only on account of the facts which they disclose, but from the light which they throw on the character of the writer.

Drake was born on the borders of Devonshire and Cornwall, near Tavistock, in a cottage which remained entire until within the last thirty or forty years. The common account of his birth and parentage has been disputed, apparently from mere love of dispute. According to that account, his father was forced to fly his home shortly after the birth of his eminent son, (who was one of nine brothers,) in the persecution of the ‘ Six Articles.’ It is added that he settled at Upnore, on the Medway, in Kent, where he ‘ got a place among the seamen in the King’s navy, to ‘ read prayers to them.’ Whether he was in orders before his removal from Devonshire, does not appear. To this story, (which Camden says he had from Drake himself,) Mr Barrow takes two objections : The first, (following, as he says, ‘ the able editors ‘ of the *Biographia Britannica*,’) that ‘ if Drake was in his ‘ tender years, or childhood, when his father was persecuted on ‘ the score of the Six Articles, he must have been born a good ‘ while before the year 1539,’ (which appears from other evidence to have been that of his birth :) the other, that ‘ there is not ‘ now, nor ever was, either church or chapel at Upnore, but a ‘ small castle was built there to protect the anchorage.’ ‘ These ‘ points,’ he adds, ‘ are of no further importance than as matters ‘ of fact.’ Now, to biographers, such matters ought to be of some consequence, however lightly others may esteem them ; and therefore we conceive that the censure, *tantamne rem tam negliger*, applies to Mr Barrow, when, having taken some pains to show that others were wrong, he does not take a little more to set himself right. The Six Articles’ Act, ‘ for abolishing diversity ‘ of opinion in certain articles,’ &c., was passed in the very year of Drake’s birth, 1539 ; and the persecution under it was hottest in 1545 and 1546, the two last years of Henry VIII.’s life, which accords perfectly well with the received story. And although it is true that Upnore is not a parish, and therefore that the term vicar is incorrect, yet since Queen Elizabeth built and garrisoned a fort there, in the first year of her reign, as a station of importance to command the anchorage, it is surely in accordance with the custom of the age to suppose that a chaplain formed part of the establishment.

At all events, the education which Drake must have received at home, is very strong presumptive proof that his father was of a learned profession, and not a Devonshire yeoman, as some scep-

tics insist. One of a large and poor family, thrust into the merchant service when a mere child, he can have had no opportunity out of the domestic circle for the study of letters. Yet we find him mentioned not only as being remarkable for eloquence—‘speaking much and arrogantly, but well,’ according to Sir William Monson—but, what is more, unusually expert in the use of the pen. The book before us derives, as we have before stated, much of its value from the letters and despatches which Mr Barrow has printed—some of them from the manuscript collections of the State Paper Office. Until these appeared, we are not aware that any compositions by Drake had been made public; with the exception of one well known and spirited letter on the defeat of the Armada, to be found in Stowe. They are, in many points of view, remarkable performances. Careless and hasty, they are nevertheless above the average style of those days, especially that of men of business and action. They will not, indeed, bear comparison in this respect with those of Essex; but they are decidedly above those of most of his associates—of Lord Howard of Effingham, for instance, or Lord Thomas Seymour, his fellow-commanders against the Armada;—we might almost add, above those of Burleigh or Walsingham. But they possess a merit exceeding that of mere style, in the remarkable spirit and fire which animate them throughout. He evidently wrote, as he spoke, readily, and not without ostentation: his letters have nothing of maritime laconism—nothing of the ‘taken or sunk as per margin.’ ‘He was,’ as Dr Lingard satirically observes, ‘a good hand at making up a bulletin.’ He dwells with much complacency on his own performances; but it is that frank and open humour of vain-glory, which seems almost graceful in the mouths of those who have approved themselves able to do greater things than they vaunt of.

Drake’s fortune commenced, humbly enough, with the acquisition of a little coasting Bark, left him by its master, to whom he had been put apprentice. How early he became acquainted with the coasts of the Spanish Main, where he was to lay the foundation of his fame and wealth, does not appear; but before the voyage, called his first, in the ordinary compilations—that with Hawkins in 1567, he had been once if not twice in those quarters. The particulars of these expeditions are, however, unknown. The chief part of Hawkins’s cargo consisted of negro slaves caught in Africa, and carried for sale to the Spanish Main. ‘So far was this traffic then considered from being infamous, that every encouragement was given to it by Queen Elizabeth, who took Hawkins into her service, made him paymaster of the navy, and, to mark her sense of obligation and favour, gave

‘him a coat of arms, whose crest was a demi-Moor, properly ‘coloured, bound by a cord.’ Mr Barrow thinks that ‘the unsophisticated mind of young Drake must have seen the slave-trade with abhorrence; for, through the whole course of his ‘future life, he had no concern in this kind of traffic.’ So a partial biographer may reason; but ordinary readers will hardly think that Drake gave much evidence of any scrupulousness beyond his age; and in his later voyages he had much higher game to fly at. However this may be, it was this very slave-trade—as if it were in a peculiar manner accursed from its commencement—which proved the immediate occasion of the desolating war between Elizabeth and Philip; as it a second time embroiled England and Spain in the reign of George II. Hawkins carried his slaves to the Spanish Main, and sold them there, trading under the protection of a treaty between Henry VIII. and Charles V. At Rio de la Hacha, where there seems to have been some grudge against the English, he found his trade prohibited. He forthwith stormed the town; and, having read this lesson to the authorities, proceeded to carry on his business with the inhabitants; which, reading opium for negroes, and Chinese for Spaniards, seems not unlike the history of transactions of recent years. This proceeding was not altogether relished by the Spaniards. Hawkins continued to profess his desire of a free trade; but the Viceroy of Mexico, having entrapped the squadron into the port of San Juan de Ulloa by means of a sealed agreement, attacked it, burnt or destroyed most of the ships, massacred great numbers of the men, captured others, and utterly ruined the hopes of the adventurers.

No one can doubt that Hawkins and his party had been guilty of a gross violation of national law, and that the Spaniards had a just right to seize and punish them. Unhappily, in that atrocious code of public morals which Spain then adopted, the fact of their being pirates, and still more of their being *heretics*, justified not only violence, but the grossest treachery, towards them. The Spanish account of the transaction gives a still blacker dye to the falsehood by which the Viceroy Henriquez decoyed the English, and boasts of it, as good service to God and the State. The prisoners were frightfully tortured—less, as it should seem, to make them discover the ulterior designs of the expedition, than in the spirit of sheer cruelty. And when revenge and national hatred had done their worst, the Inquisition added its unutterable barbarities. Two of Hawkins’s seamen were burnt alive at Mexico; one at Seville.

It is no wonder that the recital of such horrors stirred up an English and Protestant feeling throughout the kingdom of Eliza-

beth. Probably the Bull of deposition itself, which issued against the Queen just at the same period, excited less of deep abhorrence against the Pope's Spanish allies, than the cruelties exercised by that merciless people against the poor sailors who fell into their hands. Piracy became not only lawful, but as honourable as in the days of Telemachus, when exercised against so hateful an enemy. It should seem that Drake lost the greater part of the little he had to lose, in this unfortunate enterprise. Smarting under this infliction, he took the resolution, which he long afterwards recorded with pride, to right himself, by his own hand, on the King of Spain and his people. His determination is thus reported by his nephew, in the 'Introduction to 'Sir Francis Drake's third voyage to the West Indies'—really, as Mr Barrow remarks, his fifth or sixth.

'As there is a general vengeance which secretlie pursueth the doers of wrong, and suffereth them not to prosper, albeit no man of purpose impeach them; soe there is a particular indignation ingrafted in the bosome of all that are wronged, which ceaseth not seeking by all meanes possible to redresse or remedie the wrong received, in so much that these great and mighty men, in whom their prosperous estate hath bredde such an overweening of themselves that they do not onlie wronge their inferiours, but despise them, being injured, seeme to take a verie unfitt course for their own safety, and farre unfitter for their rest. For as *Æsop* teacheth, even ye fly hath her sphere, and the emmet is not without her choller; and both together many tymes finde meanes, whereby though the eagle lay her eggs in Jupiter's lappe, yet by one way or other she escapeth not requital of her wrong done to the emmet.

'Among the manifold examples hereof which former ages have committed to memorie, or our tyme yealded to sight, I suppose there hath not bin any more notable than this in hand, either in respect of the greatness of the person by whom the first injurie was offered, or the meanness of him who righteth himself; the one being (in his own conceit) the mightiest monarch of all the world, the other an English captaine, a meane subject of her Majesties, who, (besides the wrongs received at Rio da Hacha with Captaine John Lovell in the years 65 and 66 :) having been grievously indamaged at St John de Ulloa in the Bay of Mexico with Captaine John Hawkins in the years 67 and 68; not only in the losse of his goods of some value, but also of his kinsmen and friends, and that by the falsehood of Don Martin Henriquez, then the Vice Roy of Mexico, and finding that no recompense could be recovered out of Spaine by any of his owne meanes, or by her Majesties letters, he used such help as he might by two severall voyages into the West Indies; the first with two ships, the one called the Dragon, the other the Swanne, in the yeare 71, to gaine such intelligence as might farther him to get some amende for his losse; and having in these two voyages gotten such certaine notice of the persons and places aymed at, as he thought requisite, and thereupon with good deliberation resolved on a

third voyage, (the description whereof wee have now in hand,) he accordingly prepared his ships and companie, and then taking the first opportunity of a goode winde had such successe in his proceedings as now follows farther to be declared.'

The narrative of this famous voyage (1572-3) long remained the most popular of the many stories of Drake's exploits. He set sail with one ~~hulk~~ ^{hulk} of seventy tons, and another of twenty-five, to make war on the Spanish Empire. He scoured the whole coast of Terra Firma and Mexico. He took Nombre de Dios and Vera Cruz, (at that time the depots of the treasure brought from Peru, as Portobello and Panama were in later times,) and captured vessels without number. He crossed the Isthmus of Darien, and was the first Englishman who saw the Pacific; which, with less of bravado, but more of real energy, than its romantic Spanish discoverer, Balboa, he then determined to explore. The demeanour of the two adventurers might serve as a symbol of the destinies of their respective nations. Balboa 'walked up to his middle in the water, in the presence of many Indians and Spaniards, with his sword and target, and called upon them to bear testimony that he took possession of the South Sea, and all which appertained to it, for the King of Castile and Leon.' Drake, says Camden, 'was so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, that falling down there on his knees, he implored the Divine assistance that he might, at some time or other, sail thither, and make a perfect discovery of the same; and hereunto he bound himself with a vow. From that time forward, his mind was pricked on continually, night and day, to perform this vow.' He saw, though he could not carry off, the mass of gold and silver collected at Nombre de Dios—that arch-treasure of which so many fables were reported:—'A vast heap of silver in the lower room, consisting of bars of silver, piled up against the wall, as nearly as they could guess, seventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in height, each bar between thirty-five and forty pounds' weight.' If this eye measurement of silver be nearly the truth, says Mr Barrow, the heap must have been about the value of a million sterling. But he brought to England treasure enough to satisfy the boldest avarice—spices, silks, pearls, bars and wedges of gold. *Soli Deo Gloria*, adds the Chronicler of the expedition. Thus, in the less edifying language of Mazeppa—

'Time at last sets all things even :
And if we do but watch the hour,
There never yet was human power
Which could evade, if unforgiven,
The patient search and vigil long
Of him who treasures up a wrong.'

Drake had not only acquired vengeance and wealth for himself; he had opened a road for thousands of spirits as daring as his own. He had shown them the real *El Dorado*. As he told his men at *Nombre de Dios*, 'he had now brought them to the 'mouth of the treasure-house of the world; which, if they did 'not gain, none but themselves were to be blamed.'

Drake was a Cornishman, or next door to it. There is a vein of imagination which runs through the character of that old Celtic race;—not, however, poetic imagination, for Cornwall has not a single poetical tradition, nor ever produced a versifier of a higher order than Peter Pindar; but rather that which displays itself in a warm belief in the marvellous, so often the companion of great and flexible talents; and when so united, enabling its possessor to sway the imaginations of others. Something may be ascribed to the peculiar industry of that corner of the world, in mines and fisheries, which makes every man a speculator, and a dreamer of day-dreams. There is scarcely, we have heard it said, a farmer or tradesman in the west of Cornwall, who has not a most potent belief in two things;—one, that he is heir to some great property, if he could only prove his pedigree; the other, that he will some day or other make his fortune by mining. Sometimes the temperament thus engendered is combined with genius; sometimes with shrewdness and thriftiness: sometimes it runs out into a wild and contagious enthusiasm; and the false Sir William Courtenay, Thom the Cornish prophet, who led the credulous peasants of Kent against the musketry of the soldiers, was only a somewhat extravagant type of a not uncommon class among his countrymen. It is, and always has been, a land of practical visionaries—inventors, projectors, natural philosophers, and founders of sects. In Elizabeth's age of golden dreams, the sanguine disposition of a projector was almost a necessary ingredient in the character of those who were to cut their way to eminence. The adventurer had to create the materials of his own expedition, not to assume the command of a force ready made. In this way the somewhat vaunting and hyperbolical tendency of Drake's disposition, which has been often made a reproach to him, was not only serviceable, but essential to his position. A man of less ostentatious courage might have overrun the Indies, and circumnavigated the world; but could not have called together as easily, and inspired with the like enthusiasm, the spirits who were to be his ministers.

The first follower and victim of Drake's example, was a gallant seaman of the name of Oxenham, of Plymouth. He waited two years after Drake's return, being anxious to accompany him wherever he might lead; but finding that the designs of his chief

were impenetrable, he set out to conquer fortune for himself; anticipated his leader by performing the first English cruise on the South Sea; but, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, was hanged, it must be owned justly, as a pirate.

Drake, meanwhile, was preparing in secret for the fulfilment of his cherished scheme of visiting the shores of the Pacific. But there occurs just at this period a *hiatus* in the accounts of his life, which Mr Barrow has, we must presume, found himself unable to fill up; for certainly the attempt ought to have been made. We know that about 1573, Drake served in Ireland, under the first Devereux, Earl of Essex. But what connexion he had with that nobleman, or what cause led him as a volunteer—for he held at that time no post in the Queen's service—into an engagement so remote from his ordinary pursuits, and which would seem at first sight to interfere so seriously with the prospects of his great undertaking, it seems difficult to conjecture. In the absence of all authentic information, perhaps it may be worth while to have recourse to what we admit to be a very questionable source—the recitals of Thomas Doughty—the officer whom Drake afterwards executed at Port St Julian's, on his voyage round the world—a very noted and mysterious passage in his life. There is, in the British Museum, a fragment of a Manuscript, purporting to contain part of the Evidence adduced against Doughty on that occasion. Strange to say, it has escaped the researches of Mr Barrow, as well as all former writers, though very important towards elucidating that transaction. Doughty's story, according to this Evidence, was, that Drake, after his return from the West Indies, fell under the displeasure of the Crown—a thing exceedingly likely in itself, from the ambiguous policy of Elizabeth at that period, who, still at peace with Spain, professed high disapproval of the piratical proceedings of her subjects—(but Doughty hints darkly at more mysterious causes of disgrace;)—that Drake, in consequence, 'fled into Ireland,' and sought to acquire the protection of Essex, by serving under him until the cloud had passed over; that while in Ireland Drake made acquaintance with him, Doughty, also a volunteer under Essex, and high in his favour;—disclosed to him his scheme for an expedition to the South Sea, and prevailed on him to engage for an advance of £1000 for the purpose; and that, long afterwards, when the Irish service was at an end, Drake called on him unexpectedly at his lodgings in the Temple, and claimed performance of his promise. Doughty goes on to say, that he thereupon mentioned the project to Walsingham, introduced Drake to Hatton and the Council, and laid the foundation of that change of favour with the Queen, which ended in her taking Drake into her service.

Of course this remarkable story labours under a double suspicion. Doughty may have invented it, or the witnesses who speak to his conversations may have misreported it. Yet, in its main outlines (and especially when read, as we have read it, in the details of the original Manuscript) it bears to our minds a semblance of truth, when compared with what we know respecting Doughty from other quarters. At all events, it seems much more probable to us than Mr Barrow's belief, that Drake's sudden appearance and success at court in 1577, was simply owing to Elizabeth being 'apprized of his adventurous expedition and 'success against her bitterest enemy;' with whom at that period she was still at peace. However this may be, the ever-famous voyage commenced in that year was certainly undertaken under her protection.

This was the expedition, commenced with several ships, but accomplished singly by the Pelican, afterwards called the *Golden Hind*, in which Drake passed through the Straits of Magellan, coasted America to the fortieth degree of north latitude—plundering at sea and on the mainland as he passed—discovered that questionable region which the Americans call Oregon, and which the English even now claim by virtue of the title he acquired for them; and thereafter, with his single vessel, deeply laden with treasure, boldly struck out across the Pacific, and returned home by the East Indies and the Cape—having thus achieved the glory of being the first commander who 'turned up a furrow 'round the circumference of the earth,' and that in a Cock-Boat of 100 tons! It may be true, as Mr Barrow remarks, that a vessel, 'however small her size, with a flush deck, and hatches 'well battened down, will cross the Atlantic or any other sea with 'safety.' If it were otherwise, not one of the naval worthies of Elizabeth's age would have returned home to recount his adventures. But this insignificant Bark had not only to encounter the dangers of unknown seas, in the infancy of modern navigation, but to run alongside of the stoutest vessels, and dash into the best guarded harbours of the Spanish Indies. And rich as the annals of England are in maritime adventure, not one of her seamen ever surpassed Sir Francis Drake in the daring, coolness, and conduct, displayed in this most memorable undertaking.

We are sorry to notice Mr Barrow's carelessness as to authorities, in this part of the narrative. The popular history of the voyage is to be found in a well-known book, *The World Encompassed*, published by Sir Francis Drake the nephew; 'carefully collected,' as the preface tells us, 'out of the notes of 'Master Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this employment, and 'divers others, his followers in the same.' Besides this book,

Mr Barrow has made good use of a MS. narrative by Francis Fletcher himself,* in the Sloane Collection, in the British Museum. Of this narrative, there is only the first part remaining, transcribed by one John Conyers, 'pharmacopolist, citizen, and 'apothecary of London.' It ends with the arrival of the *Golden Hind* in latitude 38° south, off the coast of Chili. Yet, throughout the rest of the voyage, we find Mr Barrow, in his foot-notes, citing Fletcher's MS. as a *joint* authority for the passages which he has incorporated in his text from the *World Encompassed*. Still more strangely, he copies (p. 139) from this book a passage about the extreme cold experienced by Drake's crew at midsummer, on the coast of California; calling it 'the absurd and 'utterly incredible account of the Rev. Mr Fletcher, of whose 'intellect,' says he, 'some delusion must unquestionably have 'taken possession, or he would not have recorded such nonsense, 'in direct contradiction to the usual ordination of nature, in 'such a latitude, and at such a period of the year: it may, 'therefore, be fearlessly pronounced impossible. But, as the 'World Encompassed is avowedly taken from Fletcher's MS., 'it cannot be wondered at that they should be identically the same.' It is a painful alternative; but some delusion must, we fear, have taken possession either of Mr Barrow's intellect, or our own. We cannot find any MS. of Fletcher's at all relating to this part of the voyage, and we do not think that Mr Barrow has found more than ourselves; because, several pages back (p. 123,) he had already spoken of arriving at 'the conclusion of the MS. of Fletcher.' *The World Encompassed* is not avowedly taken from this MS. of Fletcher, as we have seen; nor is it substantially taken from it. They are exceedingly different in many respects; nay, as Mr Barrow himself remarks, even inconsistent. It is rather hard that the poor Preacher should be charged with nonsense not his own. He has sins enough to answer for, as we shall see presently.

In discussing that untoward subject, the execution of Doughty at Port St Julian, above alluded to, Mr Barrow compares the received narrative with that of Fletcher. In the common stories of the voyage, it is represented that Drake made known at this place, that he had long suspected, and finally discovered, a deep-laid scheme of mutiny, planned by Doughty, against his authority and life. The author of the *World Encompassed*

* This MS. had, however, been already referred to, but this is not mentioned by Mr Barrow, in Admiral Burney's *History of Discoveries in the South Seas*.

adds, that Doughty, on being confronted with the evidence of his own declarations, confessed the fact laid to his charge; that he was found guilty by a kind of irregular tribunal, empanelled by Drake, of the officers of his expedition; that the choice was offered him of being brought home to England to take his trial, of being left ashore on a desolate island, or of being forthwith put to death; that he chose the latter; that he received this self-imposed sentence with deep penitence and humility; partook of the communion with Drake himself, in token of mutual forgiveness; was beheaded, and buried close to the remains of a wooden frame, supposed to have been the gibbet whereon Magellan had executed certain mutineers fifty years before, when coasting the same inhospitable island; whence it was called by the Spaniards, 'The Island of True Judgment and Justice.'

Such, no doubt, was the account held orthodox by Drake's personal friends, if not propagated by himself. Fletcher's story is very different indeed, and so singular, as to be worth copying in his own words.

'This bloody Tragedie being ended, another more grievous ensueth. I call it more grievous, because it was among ourselves begun, contrived, and ended; for now Thomas Doubty, our countryman, is called in question, not by giants but by Christians, even ourselves. The original of dislike against him you may read in the storye off the Iland of Cape Verde, upon the coast of Affrick, at the taking of the Portugal prize, by whom he was accused—and for what? But now more dangerous matter, and of greater weight, is layed to his charge, and that by the same persons, namely, for words spoken by him to them, being in England, in the General's garden in Plymouth, long before our departure thence, which had been their parts and duties to have discovered them at that tyme, and not to have consealed them for a tyme and place not so fitting; but how true it was wherewith they charged him upon their oathe, I know not; but he utterly denied it, upon his salvation, at the hour of communicating the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, at the hour and moment of his death, affirming that he was innocent of such things whereof he was accused, judged, and suffered death for. Of whom I must needs testifie the truth for the good things of God I found in him, in the tyme we were conversant, and especially in the time of his afflictions and trouble, till he yielded up the spirit to God—I doubt not to immortality: he feared God, he loved his Word, and was always desirous to edify others, and conforme himselfe in the faith of Christ. For his qualities, in a man of his tyme, they were rare, and his gifts very excellent for his age—a sweet orator, a pregnant philosopher, a good gift for the Greek tongue, and a reasonable taste for Hebrew; a sufficient secretary to a noble personage of great place, and, in Yerland, an approved soldier, and not behind many in the study of the law for his tyme; and that with it a sufficient argument to prove a good Christian, and of all other things, a most manifest witness of a child of God

to men, that he was delighted in the study, hearing, and practice of the Word of God; daily exercising himself therein by reading, meditating to himself, conferring with others, instructing of the ignorant, as if he had been a minister of Christ, wherein he profitted so much, that long before his death he seemed to be mortified, and to be ravished with the desire of God's kingdom, yea, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, in whose death so many virtues were cutt off as dropps of blood new shedd—who being dead was buried neer the sepulchre of those which went before him, upon whose graves I set up a stone, whereon I engraved their names, the day of their buriall, and the month and the yeare, for a monument to them which shall fall with that place in tyme to come.—(P. 104.)

No wonder that so strange an event, and told with such variations, excited grievous suspicion in England—suspicion which has not been dispelled to the present day. That an officer should be suddenly tried and executed on board a ship, not under the regular control of articles of war, and that on the charge of framing a conspiracy wherein no single individual was charged as partaking, was in itself a very suspicious circumstance; not to mention the other odd peculiarities of the recital—especially the choice said to have been offered to the culprit. Party, moreover, long connected it with the many dark accusations against Leicester. It was insinuated that Doughty was in possession of secrets which made that accomplished villain uneasy; and was, therefore, handed over by him to Drake, to be quietly disposed of, after the precedent of Uriah the Hittite. The report, or the complaints of Doughty's friends in England, even reached the royal ears. Long afterwards, when Carder, a seaman of Drake's ship, who had strayed on the coast of America, reached England, Elizabeth sent for him and questioned him concerning Doughty's death. Dr Johnson and Mr Southey have both laboured zealously to rescue the hero's memory from the terrible stain of foul practice against this unfortunate man. Mr Barrow takes the same view, and compares the case to that of Captain Slidell Mackenzie, of the American ship Somers, when he hanged three of his crew without trial. 'In the necessity of my position,' he said, 'I found my law.' But, as the proverb says, 'necessity has no law—*ergo*, these men were hanged not by any law. He might have had recourse to a court-martial. In Drake's time no such court existed.' The defence, after all, leaves an unsatisfactory impression on the mind; and is ill calculated to efface the interest excited by Fletcher's story in favour of the accomplished and generous victim. But there is, as we have said, evidence behind, of which none of these biographers seem to have been at all aware. We have already alluded to a fragment of a MS. in the Harleian Collection, in the British Museum, containing the Depo-

sitions used on the trial. It has to our eyes the appearance of an original, or copy of rough notes, made on the occasion. On one leaf of it is a list of twenty-nine names, including those of several officers of the expedition, which we strongly suspect to be that of the jury which condemned Doughty. The depositions contain many rash, foolish, and offensive speeches, to say the least of them, uttered by Doughty to different partners in the adventure;—some ‘in a captain’s garden at Plymouth,’ before sailing; others ‘on board the fly-boat,’ (apparently on an occasion, detailed by Fletcher, when Drake had offended Doughty by taking away from him the command of a prize, and putting him into the said ‘fly-boat,’) and at other times. He seems to have talked largely and loosely for his own exaltation, and to the disparagement of the commander. He tells the story of his original connexion with Drake, as we have given it above. He speaks openly, even to common sailors, about his own influence and importance in the expedition;—that he is in reality commissioned with powers, equal to Drake himself, to reward and punish; that he can protect them against Drake’s displeasure; that he can promote whom he pleases, sure of all his appointments being ratified at home; and will ‘make choyse of twelve men who shold carrye the bell away.’ The evidence contains also much idle gossip. Even sorcery plays its part in the charges, according to the fashion of that age, which usually tacked it by way of aggravation to all other crimes whatever. ‘John Doughtie told me and John Deane,’ says a witness, ‘that he and his brother, Thomas Doughtie, could conjure as well as any men; and that they could rayse the devill, and make him to meet any man in the likeness of a beare, a lyon, or a man in harness.’ There is nothing in that portion of these depositions which has been preserved, that directly countenances the charge of conspiracy to mutiny or to murder. They leave it doubtful, after all, whether Drake did or did not exceed the just limits of the duty of self-preservation, in sacrificing a very dangerous inmate for so long and lonely a navigation, fraught with real and imaginary perils; but they place at once out of the question the notion of deliberate and treacherous assassination on the part of Drake, unless we are to adopt the horrible supposition that he packed a host of false witnesses.

But what will the reader say when he is told, that among the informers who retailed these dangerous declarations to the Court, appears the name of Francis Fletcher, the denouncer of spies, the conscientious and intimate friend of the accused—his attendant in his last moments, and his only mourner? Unless there were two of this name in the expedition—and no other than the

Chaplain is any where mentioned—this is a strange complication of the story. Had Fletcher any reason for making a martyr of Doughty after his death, against whom he had himself informed? Had he any quarrel with Drake? We cannot tell. But there is another very odd circumstance mentioned, in another fragment of manuscript Notes on this voyage, also preserved in the Harleian Collection: it has similarly escaped Mr Barrow's enquiries, and it seems to us to have some external marks of authenticity.

Memo: That Drake *excommunicated* Fletcher shortly after we were come off the rock in this manner, viz., he caused him to be made fast by one of the legs, and a staple knocked fast into the hatches in the fore-castle of his ship; he called all the company together, and putt a hook round one of his legs, and Drake, sitting cross-legged on a chest, and a paire of pantoffles in his hand, he said—"Francis Fletcher, I doe here excommunicate thee out of the Church of God, and from all the benefits and graces thereof, and denounce thee to the divell and all his angells." And then he charged him, uppon payne of deth, not to come before the mast, for yf he dyd, he swore he should be hanged; and Drake caused a posy to be written and bounde about Fletcher's arme, with charge that, if he took it off, he should then be hanged—the posy was, *Francis Fletcher, the fulsest knave that liveth.*

Excommunication is a singular addition to Sir William Monson's catalogue of the naval punishments in use in the time of Elizabeth; but to excommunicate the only Parson in the squadron seems a very original proceeding!

Drake's voyage round the world was one of the most profitable, as well as glorious, adventures ever accomplished. The *Golden Hind* was said to have brought back treasure to the amount of a million sterling. 'This voyage,' says Lewis Roberts, 'made profit to himself (Drake) and merchants of London, his partisers and fellow-adventurers, according to an account made up at his return, all charges paid and discharged, which I have seen subscribed under his own hand, L.47 for L.1, so that he who adventured with him in this voyage L.100, had L.4700 for the same.*' It was some time before the scruples of her Majesty, concerning the mode in which this vast treasure was acquired, were fairly overborne by the brilliancy of the acquisition. Probably means were found to soften them of which we have now no record. Drake's arrival in England took place on the 26th September 1580: five months afterwards, the Queen bestowed upon him the honour of Knighthood, on board the

* *The Merchant's Mappe of Commerce*, quoted by Mr Barrow. p. 177.

Golden Hind at Deptford, and gave him the well known coat-of-arms; to which is attached the equally well known but ridiculous story of his quarrel with Sir Bernard Drake, the head of the clan Drake in the west of England.

In 1585, Queen Elizabeth concluded her treaty with the Netherlands, which brought England, for the first time, in open collision with the power of Spain. Philip retorted by an embargo on English ships and merchandise; and, in the same year, the Queen dispatched Sir Francis Drake with a large squadron to strike a blow in the West Indies. For the first time, Sir Francis now found himself at the head of a division of the royal navy. This was any thing but unmixed good fortune for a sea-commander in Elizabeth's time. So inveterate were the scruples of the Council against hazarding her Majesty's precious timber and cordage in close conflict, that the Earl of Cumberland, in one of his voyages, actually declined the offer of a Queen's ship, and preferred taking his vessels from the merchant service only—so strict were the injunctions with which he was fettered, against laying the valuable property rashly alongside of the enemy! What was probably still less to Drake's taste, he was burdened with the co-operation of an officer of the land service—Lieutenant-General Carlisle, with power equal to his own. It is worth observing, however, as a remarkable feature in the character of an officer of so sanguine and self-relying a disposition as Drake, that he seems always to have been eminently successful in keeping on good terms with his associates in command. Between him and Rouse, Carlisle, Lord Effingham, and Hawkins—his colleagues in various of his boldest adventures—the most perfect cordiality seems to have subsisted; and the reported disagreements between him and Sir John Norris in the Lisbon expedition, of which more presently, have no support in the official despatches, or in the recorded facts of the narrative. This voyage, however, was less distinguished than any of its forerunners in point of success; and we are bound to add, that it was carried on in a still more marauding fashion. At St Domingo, 'the ransom of the city was demanded; and, as the inhabitants were very slow in coming to terms, every morning the setting fire to the suburbs was practised for several days together; but the invaders found it no small travail to ruin them, they being magnificently built of stone, with high lofts.' At Carthagera, the same ingenious process was adopted; the English burning the place, house by house, until the ransom was forthcoming;—much as King John extracted his daily tooth from the captive Israelite. But that terrible *calenture*, the yellow fever of modern times, took a full

revenge on the assailants. The most remarkable service which they performed was to bring home, on their return, Governor Lane and the remnant of the first unsuccessful colony planted in Virginia by Sir Walter Raleigh; and with them 'that Indian plant called tabacco and nicotia,'—destined ever after materially to affect and to modify the habits of social existence throughout the civilized world.

His next service was of a more distinguished character. In April 1587, on the rumour of the Spanish King's preparations to invade England, Drake was dispatched with a squadron to 'ascertain, by personal inspection, the actual state of the enemy's preparations in the ports on the coasts of Spain and Portugal; to intercept any supplies of men, stores, or ammunition, that the Duke of Parma might dispatch from the Low Countries; to lay waste the harbours of Spain and Portugal on the western coast; and destroy all the shipping that could be met with at sea conveying stores and provisions, or to attack them in port.' The squadron was composed of five ships of her Majesty, with some twenty more furnished by London adventurers; whose object being simply to turn war into a profitable speculation, must have been a grievous impediment to an expedition peculiarly requiring activity and dispatch. The great things which Drake accomplished with this motley force are matters of European history. His achievements furnished the earliest instance, perhaps, of those wonders wrought by the union of perfect skill, presence of mind, and unequalled daring, which have since so greatly distinguished the British navy in similar attempts. He made a dash at the harbour of Cadiz. In a single day, he took, burned, and destroyed, from sixty to a hundred sail of ships, and became master of the road, in defiance of the superior force of the Spaniards at sea, and the co-operation of the batteries on shore. Six or seven ships of a thousand tons or upwards, an extraordinary size in those days, were among those destroyed, and all laden with provision of different kinds for the use of the intended Armada. After this gallant exploit, he coasted Algarve and Alentejo, taking and destroying every thing that fell in his way; and had the good fortune to conclude his voyage by a stroke as much to the satisfaction of the adventurers, as the destruction of the Cadiz fleet was to that of the Queen—the taking the Portuguese Carrack the *St Philip*, the first prize from the East Indies which had been brought into an English harbour, and one of the most valuable ever captured.

The first letters of Sir Francis Drake, discovered by Mr Barrow in the State Paper Office, were composed on this voyage; and none give a better idea of his ordinary exulting and boast-

ful style of correspondence than the following, written after his triumph at Cadiz. It must be confessed that it bears a little the air of a *Carmagnole* of the sixteenth century. But it, nevertheless, conveys some information as to the spirit in which this war was carried on, and curiously exemplifies that strange phraseology, tinged alike with pedantry and impiety, in which its actions were narrated. In endeavouring to render the Portuguese disaffected to Spain, Elizabeth was but retaliating the mode of warfare which her enemy waged through the partisans of the Queen of Scots, and the seminary Priests. But the wanton destruction of the property of the poorest class of people, and the threat of selling Spanish prisoners to the Moors—which, we sincerely hope, was never carried into execution, notwithstanding the hypocritical pretence of employing the money for the redemption of Englishmen)—form no trifling additions to the long catalogue of sins of which our gallant protectors had rendered the nation guilty against Spain; and for which no retribution which the Armada might have exacted could be justly deemed excessive.

Sir Francis Drake to Sir Francis Walsingham.

May 17, 1587.

'Sence the departyng of Captayne Crosse, Right Honorable, ther hath happened betweene the Spanyards, Portyngalls, and ourselves, dyvers combatts, in the which it hathe pleased God that we have taken forty shipes, barks, carvelles, and dyvers other vesselles, more than a hundreth, most laden; som with oorse for gallyes, planke, and tymber for shippes and penaces, howpes and pype-staves for casks, with many other provvyions for this great armye. I assuer your honor, the howpes and pype-staves were above 16 or 17 C tonn (1600 or 1700) in wayght, which cannot be lesse than 25 or 30 thousand tonn, if it had bynn made in caske redy for lyqwyer; all which I comaunded to be consumed into smoke and ashes by fyer, which will be unto the king no small waste of his provvycons, besyds the want of his barks. The netts which we have consumed will cause the people to curse their governors to ther fface.

'The Porttyngalles I have allwayes comaunded to be used well, and sent them ashooore without the wantyng of any ther apparrell, and have made them to know that it was unto me a great greffe that I was dryven to hurtt of these to the vallew of one ryall of platt, but that I found them imployed for the Spanyards servesses, which we hold to be our morttall enemyes, and gave some Porttyngallers som mony in their purses, and put them aland in dyvers places; upon which usage, yf we staye here any tyme, the Spanyards which are here in Porttyngall, yf they com under our hands, will become all Porttyngalles, and play as Peter dyd, forswear ther master, rather then to be sold as slaves. I asshure your honor, this hath breed a great fear in the Spaynard.

'I spake with the Marques of Santa Cruse, at Cast Calles (Cascayes) nere Lysbona, by messenger, wher he was abourd his gallyes, to know whether he would redeme any of his Master's subjectts, which I had

from fear of, for suche of my Mystryes' people as he had under his government. The Marqwes sent me word, that as he was a gentleman he had nonne, and that I should asshuer myselfe that yf he had had any he would shurly have sent them me; which I knew was not so, for that I had trew intelligence by Ynglyshemen and Porttyngalles that the Marquyes had dyvers Ynglyshemen bothe in his gallyes and prysons; but in trewth I think the Marquyes durat not release our Ynglyshmen before he have order from his King, and liberttye from the persecutting clergy.

'I sent lykwyse to the Generall of the K. gallyes, at Calles, and to all such Governors as I conveniently myght for the redemyng of ther Spaniards—they all aunsered me kyndly, but some had bought a plow of oxen, others had taken a farme, and the rest had married wyffes; the former preyed to be held excused, and the latter could send us no Ynglyshmen,—whereupon it is agreed by us all, her Majestie's captaynes and masters, that all such Spanyards as yt shall please God to send under our hands, that they shall be sold unto the Mowres, and the mony reserved for the redemyng of such of our contryemen as may be redeemed therwith.

'For the reveng of these things, what forces the country is abell to make, we shall be suer to have browght upon us, as ffar as they may, with all the devyces and trappes they cann devyse; I thancke them much they have stayed so long, and when they com they shall be but the sonnes of morttall men, and for the most part enemyes to the truthe, and upholders of balles to Dagon's imag, which hath alredye fiallen before the arke of our God, with his hands, arms, and head stroken off.

'As long as it shall please God to geve us provcyons to eat and drinke, and that our shipes and wynd and wether will permitt us, you shall surly hyer of us nere this Cape of St Vincent; where we doo and will exspecto daylly what her majestie and your honors will farther comaund.

'God make us all thanckfull that her Majestie sent out these ffewe shipes in tyme.

'If ther were here six more of her Majestie's good shippes of the second sort, we should be the better abell to kepe ther forces from joynng, and happelly take or impeache his fletts from all places in the next monthe, and so after which is the chefest terms of their retornes home; which I judge, in my power opynyon, will bring this great monarchy to those condycions which ar meett. There must be a begynnyng of any great matter, but the conteneuing unto the end untill it be thoroughly ffynysht yeldes the trew glory. Yf Hanybull had followed his victoryes, it is thought of many he had never byne taken by Sepyo.

'God mak us all thanckfull agayne and agayne that we have, althowghe it be lettell, mad a begynnyng upon the coast of Spayne. If we can thorowghly beleve that this which we dow is in the defence of our relygion and contrye, no doubt but our mercyfull God for his Christ, our Savyour's sake, is abell, and will geve us victory, althowghe our sennes be reed. God geve us grace we may feare hym, and daylly to call upon hym, so shall nether Sattan nor his menesters prevayell agaynst us; although God permitt you to be towched in bodye, yeat the Lord will hold his mynd pure. Lett me be pardoned of your honor agayne

and agayne for my over myche boldness, it is the confeccyon of my owne concyence, my dutty in all humbellnes to your honor, my good lady your yocke partener and all yours, beseching you all to pray unto God hartelly for us, as we dow daylly for all you. Hast, from her Majestie's good shipe the Ellyzabeth Bonaventure, now rydyng at Cape Saker, this 17th May, 1587. Your honor's most ready to be comanded,

'FRA: DRAKE.' *

The religious expressions of this despatch fall in, no doubt, with the common official style of the time—no less than the classical allusions to Hannibal and Scipio. Such language was in accordance with the general feeling; the use of it was a custom which did that age at once honour and discredit;—honour, on account of the testimony it bore to the sincerity of the zeal which invaded the community; discredit, by reason of the gross encouragement to hypocrisy which the fashion no doubt afforded in particular instances. The contest between Philip and Elizabeth was, in the eyes of the subjects of both, a warfare between the angels of light and the prince of darkness; each proclaimed in the strongest language the convictions with which they were penetrated; and each regarded their own violence as an outbreak of godly zeal, that of their enemies as rank fanaticism. So calm philosophy may pronounce at the present day. But we must observe, that Mr Barrow sometimes so far forgets himself as to write in the style of the age which he describes. 'The following lines, the translation of part of an infamous ode on the intended Armada, show,' he says, 'to what a pitch of bitterness and of bigotry, of *hellish superstition* and national hatred, a Spanish Roman Catholic could work himself up.' And he then quotes certain lines of the poet Gonzaga, in which Elizabeth is termed a 'she-wolf' with the addition of a very ungentlemanly epithet, and Heaven is requested to pour down its 'lightning vengeance' on her head. Bad language, no doubt; but considering that Dagon and Antichrist were the civillest names which Elizabeth's subjects were then in the habit of applying to her great antagonist, perhaps the charge of 'hellish superstition' might as well be spared on both sides.

Expressions of this kind (there is scarcely a letter of Drake's without them) are not to be taken altogether as matters of form on his part. Freebooter though he was, he won the character, in his own day, of a pious and God-fearing man; one who could really have worked himself up to believe, that in spoiling Spanish treasuries and burning cities, he was inflicting a heavy discouragement on Antichrist. 'He was a religious

'man towards God and his Houses,' says Fuller in his *Worthies*, concisely enough—'generally sparing churches.' A stronger testimony of the character which he bore in this respect is to be found in the fact of the same writer having selected him, in his *Holy State*, as the popular example of the 'pious Sea-Captain.' We suspect that his divinity was a good deal leavened with that Puritan doctrine which was then in its vigorous infancy in England. But he might perhaps have derived this tinge from his father, the old sacramentary preacher. There are many scattered circumstances in his life which seem to favour this notion—such as Fuller's often-repeated story, that he took counsel of a sea-chaplain whether he was justified in making his first reprisals on the Spaniard; possibly, as Southey suggests, his own father. We have seen that he took the communion with his victim Doughty in his last moments. The strange story of his excommunicating Fletcher, if true, is a good deal in accordance with Puritan ideas of church authority. There is an anecdote confusedly told in Hakluyt, about his rebuking an Indian for eating an 'otter with the 'blood in it,' which savours of the same school: for which Dr Johnson—the believer in the Cock-lane ghost, and second-sight—gently reproves the old heroic seaman for superstition. One of his correspondents was 'Master John Fox, the preacher'—we are inclined to think the *Martyrologist*. Drake writes to him on the eve of the expedition to Lisbon, to solicit his prayers. All these things incline us to think that his mind had been drawn into the same dismal vortex which was to attract so many of the manliest spirits of the succeeding age. Be this as it may, his religion displayed itself in a serious and regular life; he was temperate in all his personal habits, as well as steady in his discipline; and his followers were no less bound to him by his careful attention to their welfare, than inspired by the contagion of his enthusiastic temper.

The principal result of this gallant expedition was, to put off for one year the threatened invasion by Spain, and to give Elizabeth and England time to prepare for it. In the summer of 1588, the invincible Armada put to sea. It was Drake's proposal (seconded by the brave Admiral Lord Charles Howard, who, though nominally at the head of the fleet, seems to have acted in all things in concert with his illustrious officers) to attack the Armada on the coast of Spain, or while in port at Lisbon. The attempt was rendered fruitless by the same storm which crippled, and for a time dispersed, the Armada itself; but it is a striking proof to what a degree of boldness long success had raised the English spirit, that the four most experienced commanders in the fleet were unanimous in favour of striking the first blow, and attacking the Armada on its own shores, and with half its force.

Mr Barrow has not added much from the stores of the State Paper Office and other Archives to our acquaintance with that eventful week during which the Armada coasted the southern shores of England—the most spirit-stirring crisis she has ever known since the Norman invasion. As far as fighting was concerned, never was any thing so unwieldy, or so utterly helpless, as the huge tortured monster which made its way up the Channel amidst the light squadrons of assailants—like a whale attacked by the harpoons of a flotilla of boats. Drake was the hero of the week; and Lope de Vega (who was on board the Armada, composing *La Hermosura de Angelica* in the intervals of the cannonade) there acquired that hatred and dread of his name which found vent afterwards in his monstrous production, *La Dragonada*, perhaps the only epic lampoon in existence. It is difficult to comprehend, considering the enormous superiority of the Spaniards in weight and metal, (60,000 tons to 30,000, 3000 guns to 800,) how the light vessels of England were not blown out of the water by the fire of the invaders; much more, how it happened that not an English ship was sunk, and scarcely an Englishman killed (as it should seem) in all the encounters of that ever-memorable week. But for purposes of maritime warfare, the Armada was altogether innocuous.

‘Cervi, luporum præda rapacium,
Sectamur ultro.

Its commanders, however, held to their ultimate object steadily and well; namely, to keep the body of the fleet together until off the Flemish coast. They adopted measures which seem to show that they scarcely calculated on their officers as Elizabeth did on hers. ‘The Duke of Medina Sidonia,’ (says the Spanish Manuscript Narrative of the invasion, which Mr Barrow quotes in a provoking manner, not giving any satisfactory account of its authenticity, or informing us *what or where* it is,) summoned ‘to him all the serjentes-mayores, and ordered them to proceed in a *patache*, so that each ship should keep the position assigned to her in the new order of sailing; and he further gave them written orders, directing that in case any ship did not show the order, and quitted her post, the captain *should forthwith be hanged*, the serjentes-mayores taking the provosts with them for that purpose; and for the better execution of the order, they were distributed three in the van and three in the rear division.’

On the 27th July, the Armada anchored off Calais; harassed, but unbroken. On the 28th, the English made on it that bold and desperate night attack, which was within an ace of destroy-

ing it, by means of fireships.* ‘ God hathe geven us ’ (writes Drake) ‘ so good a daye in forcyng the enemy so far leeward, as I hope in God the Prince of Parma and the Duke of Sedonya shall not shake hands these four dayes; and whenever they meet, I believe neither of them will greatly rejoyce of this daye’s servis. The toune of Callys hathe scene some parte thereof, whose mayor her majestie is beholding unto. Busynes commands me to end. God help her majestie our gracyous sovereygne, and give us all grace to live in his feare.’ †

This indeed was the critical moment for England. The Duke of Parma was at Bruges. Thirty thousand more of the old Spanish troops, under the most distinguished commander of the age, might well have turned the scale. Where then was Farnese at this conjuncture? Nothing can be more wretched than the defences of his apologists: leaky boats—sailors not to be depended on—want of vessels of the right draught of water—such are the pretences alleged for breaking his engagements to Philip, and disappointing the magnificent hopes entertained of his co-operation. He had had months, nay years, to provide himself against all these contingencies. While the Armada was struggling up the Channel, and while, during three anxious days, it lay off the coast of Flanders, he remained all the time quiet at Bruges: not until it was in full sail to the northward, did he come to the coast at all. It suited the policy of Philip to exonerate him of all blame; and thus he has escaped more easily at the hands of posterity than could otherwise have happened. It is certainly difficult to believe, but that he was either actuated by personal motives, in thus wavering at the important moment, or that he abandoned, from sheer irresolution, as promising a chance for immortal honour as ever was offered to any leader.

From the moment that the Armada, scarcely rescued from the sands of Flanders by a sudden change of wind, and despairing of Parma’s assistance, pursued her course to the northward, closely followed by the fleet of Elizabeth, the crisis in the destinies of England was over. From that day to the present, her

* We do not know on what authority Sir James Mackintosh (*History of England*) calls this the first instance of the use of fireships in modern war. The same instrument of annoyance had been tried against Drake’s squadron in the bay of Cadiz only the year before, and against the Spaniards at Antwerp.

† P. 800. Why does Mr Barrow say that the date of this letter (29th July) is incorrect, and should be 27th? The night attack was clearly on the night of the 28th.

navies have ridden fearless in every sea, her cannon has been heard on every shore—she alone has remained untouched and impregnable: *quousque tandem?*

It seems that many in England were disappointed at the escape of the Armada from its perilous position at Calais, without further damage: Drake, who could judge better the amount of danger from which his country had been delivered, felt very differently. 'There never was any thing pleased me better,' he writes to Walsingham, with a natural burst of exultation, 'than seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward! God grant you have a good eye to the Duke of Parma, for with the grace of God, yf we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handell the matter with the Duke of Sedonya, as he shall wish hymself at Saint Marie Port, among his orynges trees.' These pugnacious intentions, however, were frustrated by the rapidity of the Armada's retreat. The winds and waves, as they had commenced, so were left to finish the ruin of this fated expedition. There is a long and amusing letter of Drake's, dated the 10th August, full of conjectures as to their further proceedings; and another of the 11th, 'which seems to have been written for no other purpose than to certify to the Queen that the Lord High Admiral had bravely done his duty, and become a very apt scholar:' which letter closes this eventful period of Drake's correspondence.

There is something very striking in the contrast between Lord Effingham's letters on this great occasion, and Drake's, compared with the perfect unanimity which seems to have prevailed between them;—the Admiral, high-born and chivalrous, foremost in every action of danger, yet never in any instance assuming the direction to himself, and seeming to value his superior position only as it enabled him to follow out more zealously the plans of his experienced subordinates. Drake, again, evidently the real manager of the defence, and selected as the champion of England in her danger; yet never presuming on his real superiority, giving all glory to the Queen, his men, and the ministry, and holding himself out merely as the zealous instrument of the will of others. Such harmony between officers so circumstanced, moving in spheres so likely to come into collision, is rare indeed, as all history testifies; and nothing more highly proves the strength of that common enthusiasm which their incomparable mistress had succeeded in infusing alike into the bosom of the nobleman and the adventurer. And yet if loyalty could be tried by niggardly treatment, theirs assuredly was. Effingham and his men, who had just saved England, were left in a few weeks, it should seem, almost in utter destitution. Before the month of August, the very next after that

in which they had performed their immortal services, was over, we find the Lord Admiral fain to borrow a trifling sum for the necessities of the fleet, out of the money which Drake, with a keener eye to the main chance, had contrived to seize on board Don Pedro Valdez's ship—the only valuable capture of the campaign.*

'Sir,' (he writes to Walsingham on the 27th August,) 'I send you here inclosed a note of the money that Sir F. Drake had aboard Don Pedro. I did take now at my coming down 3000 pistolets, as I told you I wolde; for by Jesus I had not three pounds left in the world, and had not any thinge (?) could get money in London. And I dow assure you, my plat has gone before; but I will repay it within few days after my comyng home. I pray you let her Majestie know so; and by the Lord God of hevne I had not one crown mor, and had it not byne mere nesesite I would not have touched one: but if I had not sum to have bestowed upon sum pour and myserable men, I should have wysshed myself out of the world. Sir, let me not lyve longer then I shall be most wylling to dow all sarvys, and to take any paynse I can for her Majesties sarvis. I thynk Sir F. Drake will say I have lyttell rest, day or night.'—(P. 330.)

At the very time when the poor sailors were left thus unprovided, it appears that an infectious complaint was committing daily ravages in the fleet. 'It is a thyng,' as Lord Howard truly observes, 'that ever followeth such great sarvyses.' Ingratitude follows them almost as certainly. In September, however, the fleet was paid off; and no doubt the thanks of their magnanimous Queen were received in full quittance by the survivors of the gallant men who had saved her and her kingdom. Such, in Hume's language, was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. No service was too great to require; no payment too slight for a requital, when accompanied with her commendations and favour. There was pride, as well as the gratification of a very excusable parsimony, in receiving the *tales* of bricks, made without treasury straw, which her officers laid at her feet. In fact her Majesty's navy, at this period, was managed much on the principle on which, in modern days, Henri Christophe,

* Drake took 55,000 ducats from this ship, (besides many prisoners worth a large sum,) some of whom were kept eighteen months in Plymouth, until their ransoms were paid. Drake seems, from one of his letters, to have been very uneasy about these prisoners, whom he was obliged to send to the Queen, lest her Majesty should either appropriate them, or make them over to some hungry courtier. 'Yf they shoulde be geven from me unto any other, it would be some grief to my friends. Yf her Majestie will have them, God defend but I should think myself happy.'

King of Hayti, conducted his cavalry establishment. No remounts were ever allowed; but every cavalier, receiving his horse and arms when he first joined the service, was expected ever afterwards to appear on parade well mounted and equipped, on penalty of the royal displeasure; and the story adds that the cavalry always looked remarkably well. His sable majesty used to point them out with pride to his visitors, and remark—‘The King’s horses never die; but they change their skins now and then.’ Instead of making fortunes in the public service, Elizabeth’s great men esteemed it the highest honour to waste theirs in obtaining her smiles. Even with the common men who swelled her army in 1588, it was less the enthusiasm of self-defence than devotion to her person, which inspired every sacrifice; and it is recorded that a regiment of Dorsetshire men, raised to protect their own coast, offered five hundred pounds for the privilege of leaving their homes unguarded, and serving under her at Tilbury.

According to the ordinary theory, which assumes that good and regular pay is the necessary condition of all military virtue, Elizabeth’s was a strange method of defending an empire against the hostile strength of half Europe, and dangerous disaffection at home; yet the result spoke for itself. Compare the unbought service which Elizabeth could command, with all that James I. or Catharine II. could purchase with their insane prodigalities! Mere love of honour—without some strong and stirring popular cause—may be an insufficient motive, without good *rations*, to keep up the valour of the common sailor or soldier: so, at least thought Drake of his own countrymen. ‘An Englyshman, being farre from his country, and seeing a present want of vittual to insew, and perceiving no benefyt to be looked for, but only blowes, will hardly be brought to stay.’ Nor will he appreciate, in ordinary times, the argument of one of Trissino’s heroes in favour of putting off dinner until after a Council of War—

‘Poi ch’ è meglio

Senza cibo restar che senz’ onorè.’

We speak rather of the Leaders—civil and military alike. Who was ever better served than Gustavus Adolphus, Frederic the Great, the Convention, and the Directory? and in whose service was there ever greater glory, with scantier pay? The higher energies of man are no mercenary qualities after all; he may be decently grateful to the government which feeds him well, but his heart belongs to that which stimulates his faculties, and rouses his self-esteem.

The year of the Armada was the culminating point in the career of Drake. From this period, though his own energies never slackened, fortune seems to have slighted him, in favour of

younger candidates for her good graces. In 1589 he was placed at the head of the naval part of the greatest armament which issued from the ports of England during Elizabeth's reign. It was destined to further his own cherished object, a descent on the Spanish coast. His personal influence, fortune, and zealous entreaties at court, were directed for months towards the equipment of it. The Queen contributed about L.60,000 towards it, together with six ships; and the Dutch assisted both with ships and men. But by far the greatest part of the risk was undertaken by private adventurers. The nation was possessed with an absolute passion for bearding the Don on his own territory. Of some 20,000 soldiers and sailors in the expedition, 1100 were said to be gentlemen; scarcely a family in Devon and Cornwall, the nurseries of foreign adventure, which did not send out its member. 'But these mixed expeditions of war and traffic,' says Mr Barrow, 'so common in those days, how well soever conducted, were rarely successful; and the fitting out of the present one was not auspicious. It was detained a whole month at Plymouth; it was disappointed in its promised forces and equipments: of six hundred English horses; of seven old companies of the Low Countries; of four Dutch companies—besides other matters; and it suffered by the consumption and expense of provisions for a whole month, laid wind-bound at Plymouth.' Besides these ordinary miseries, and the extreme difficulty of squeezing a few hundred pounds by way of relief from Lord Burleigh, Drake, who, in an earlier expedition, had been plagued with the chivalry of Sir Philip Sidney, was now troubled by a similar exhibition of valour on the part of the young Earl of Essex. That adventurous nobleman had signified his resolution to join the armament as a volunteer, less from chivalrous motives than a desire to retrieve his pecuniary fortunes. His mistress immediately directed that, as soon as he made his appearance, he should be sent back to the court. 'This cause of the Earl of Essex,' writes Sir Francis Drake to Hatton, 'hath been and is a very great trouble unto us, for that we heare contynually that his lordship's abiding is uncertain in any particular place. We have sent both by sea and land, and now dayly expect to hear from his lordship.' Essex succeeded in getting away from the royal apron-string, and aided much, by his gallantry and spirit, in keeping up the courage of his fellow adventurers. The history of the expedition is briefly told; though, short as it is, it has been made the subject of great misrepresentations, with regard to Drake. Dr Lingard—with whom a true subject of Elizabeth, and a successful scourger of Spain, has little chance of justice—volunteers the statement, that 'Drake refused to be shackled with official instructions; and sailed directly to the harbour of Corunna.'

Now, the narratives even of Drake's enemies, who dwell on the supposed disagreement between him and Norris, the Commander of the troops, make the cause of the difference to be, that Norris proposed landing at Corunna, and Drake opposed it. At Corunna; however, they wasted many days in hard fighting, with very little object, except to learn, for the first time apparently, that the Spaniards could defend themselves on occasion. They next landed at Peniche, marched with little resistance to Lisbon, and occupied the suburbs. The old walls of the city were its only defence; but they had no artillery—not even a field-piece by which they could throw down one of the gates—and ‘it was not then known,’ says Mr Barrow, ‘that a bag of gun-powder, attached to the gates, would effect that object.’ This seems strange: the ‘Petard’ at least was in constant use for that purpose in the French and Dutch wars of Elizabeth’s reign. And what was probably a worse disappointment to the soldiers, and certainly to the ‘adventurers,’ the presence of the unlucky pretender to the throne of Portugal, Don Antonio, prior of Crato, with the expedition, rendered it impossible, with common decency, to sack the suburbs. ‘Had we marched through ‘the country,’ says the author of the contemporary account, ‘as enemies, our soldiers had been well supplied with all their wants. Had we made enemies of the suburbs of Lisbon, we ‘had been the richest armie that ever went out of England!’ As it was, seeing that there was neither fighting nor pillage to be had, Norris and Essex retreated on Drake’s squadron at Cascaes. Sir Francis is said to have promised to go up the Tagus to fetch them, but to have failed of his word, finding his plan impracticable. It is not unlikely that his eager and confident disposition may have led him to undertake more than he could effect; but to blame him, as his many enviers at home sagaciously did, at once for promising impossibilities, and then for not performing them, seems rather malicious. But, according to the ‘True Discourse,’ his undertaking was only ‘if the weather did ‘not hinder him.’* At Cascaes he performed the only valuable service of the expedition; seizing a squadron of corn ships, intended for the equipment of a new armada. After a few insignificant adventures off the Azores, the armament returned to Plymouth. Six thousand men had fallen, the remainder were discharged, receiving five shillings a-piece; which, says Hakluyt,

* Essex, in a petulant letter written after the second expedition to Cadiz, attributes the failure of this attempt on Lisbon to Drake’s not daring to carry his vessels past Fort St Julian’s. Even Essex would scarcely have ventured on such an imputation in the veteran’s lifetime.

'was believed to be more than by any means could be due to 'them.' Yet the public seem fully to have believed that Drake returned (as Camden expressly asserts he did) with a large booty.

In 1595, Drake set sail on the last cruise of his adventurous life. His associate in this enterprise was the veteran Sir John Hawkins, then nearly eighty years of age. Mr Barrow attributes the old seaman's joining in this adventure to anxiety for the fate of his son, then a prisoner in South America. Perhaps a more immediate motive was the inexhaustible spirit of the unsuccessful gambler—the fire which burns fiercest under the ashes of old age. The ill-omened fleet reached the West Indies in September 1595. One of its vessels was taken off Porto Rico by the Spaniards; which, according to Hakluyt, broke the heart of old Hawkins. Attacks were made on the chief Spanish ports in the Gulf of Mexico with the usual spirit and daring; but the Spaniards were every where on the alert, and cannon-balls were more plentiful than pieces of eight had been on former occasions. At St Juan de Puerto Rico, a shot killed two of Drake's officers in his cabin, and struck the stool on which he sat, 'drinking a cup of beer,' from under him. Every place that he looked in upon was now armed to the teeth, and welcomed him grimly back to the scene of his former exploits. In Fuller's phrase, 'whilst the king of 'Spain guarded the head and heart of his dominions in Europe, 'he left his long legs in America open to blows; till finding 'them to smart, being beaten black and blue by the English, he 'learned to arm them at last.' What little was to be got was now only won with hard blows, or by dexterous surprises. An attempt to perform the march to Panama, so happily accomplished twenty years before, was repulsed with loss and disgrace; and the scourge of the climate, always aggravated by disappointment, was upon them. It soon attacked the General, whose constitution seems never to have failed before. The 'flux' pursued its course with its ordinary rapidity. An hour before his death 'he 'rose and dressed himself,' muttered some incoherent speeches, was carried back to bed, and straightway died. He was buried in the sea, in the same bay of Puerto-Bello which rolls over the bones of so many of our countrymen, who perished an hundred and forty years afterward in the fatal expedition of Hosier—

'All o'erspent with toil and anguish,
Not in glorious battle slain.'

Drake is perhaps the earliest of our distinguished warriors whose character bears the true professional stamp—of a man rising to eminence in 'the service,' living by it and for it, and devoting to it the entire energies of his life; and, both in its excellences and defects, as far as we know them, it might almost stand as the type of a class: he was framed on a model which

has been often since repeated in the annals of British heroism. His valour, as we have said, was ostentatious, as is common in men fond of popularity, conscious of great powers, and proud of having risen from obscurity by the exercise of them : his humour of bravado, the point on which his detractors were ever ready to seize, was such as men are apt to indulge in, who have chained fortune to their car until they are tempted to believe the tie inseparable. But if success sometimes made Drake arrogant, misfortune never clouded his judgment nor abated his spirit. He was accused of being intolerant of opposition : but we have already mentioned the remarkable cordiality which subsisted between him and his associates in command ; and with respect to inferiors, it must be remembered that the discipline of that day was so lax, particularly in the service of ‘adventurers,’ where most officers were sharers in profit and risk, that every attempt to enforce authority was apt to be viewed as an insult. But it seems rather to be the fact that, among other talents of a popular leader, he possessed the peculiar secret of combining a seeming deference to the opinion of others, with self-dependence and decision. He was, says Prince, ‘a willing hearer of every man’s opinion, but commonly a follower of his own.’ His friends, says even Sir William Monson—a detractor from his and most other men’s fame—urged in excuse of his vain-glory, ‘that it was not inherent to him alone, but to most men of his profession and rank. It is true he would speak much and arrogantly, but eloquently ; which bred a wonder in many, that his education could yield him those helps of nature. Indeed he had four properties to further his gift of speaking, (viz.) his boldness of speech, his understanding in what he spoke, his inclination to speak, and his use in speaking ; and, though misdoing is a vice not to be excused, yet he obtained that fame by his actions, that facility in speaking, and that wisdom by his experience, that I can say no more but that we are all the children of Adam.’

The researches of Mr Barrow have not added any thing material to the mere outline which we already possessed of his private life. He was twice married, but left no issue : his second wife is said to have been an heiress of the family of Sydenham of Combe Sydenham, and to have married after his death into that of Courtenay of Powderham. He made a good fortune, and managed it thriftily. His nephew, Francis Drake, inherited from him the beautiful Abbey and lands of Buckland Monachorum, between Tavistock and Plymouth, which the Admiral purchased of the Grenvilles with that Spanish gold to which a curse was long supposed to cling ; for his own sophistry, and that of his fanatical friends, about the spoiling of Antichrist, never went

down with the common people. However, in spite of the double malediction attaching to Abbey lands, and Bucanier's gold, Buckland remained in his collateral line—a family of prosperous gentlemen, enjoying one of James I.'s Baronetcies—until 1794, when the last Sir Thomas Drake died. It was brought by a female descendant to another hero—Lord Heathfield—from whom it passed to females again.

Drake founded other two more permanent memorials of himself, in two important contributions to the public welfare;—one, the 'Chest at Chatham,'—a fund for the relief of worn-out seamen, established by him and Hawkins, and now consolidated with Greenwich Hospital. More than 30,000 persons received pensions from it in 1814, its amount having greatly accumulated. The other was the famous 'Leat,' or Aqueduct, which conveys water to Plymouth—a remarkable piece of English engineering in that time; which, however, was not altogether a free gift, being partly undertaken with a view to profit. It was so rapidly executed as to give rise to the tradition, that the water followed the Admiral's horse's heels as he galloped from its spring to Plymouth, by virtue of a compact with the Devil; which Southey recounts along with many other legendary tales of the 'old warrior,' as he is still called in his native county. It was in the regular course of events, that the first of the early naval heroes of England, and first circumnavigator of the globe, like the first printer, and the first natural philosopher, should be remembered by the multitude as a Wizard or Conjuror.

In taking leave of this work, we would beg to advise the author to consult the Manuscript documents, unknown to him, to which we have referred, with any others that may have been overlooked, and (before it is reprinted, as it is likely we should think to be) to make such alterations as a careful examination of them may suggest; and, generally, to bestow upon it such a revision as may help more and more to obtain for it a permanent place in historical literature, as the approved account of the life and actions of the energetic founder of our Naval glory.

ART. III.—*Erpétologie Générale, ou Histoire Naturelle complète des Reptiles.* Par A. M. C. DUMERIL, Membre de l'Institut, et G. BIBRON, Aide Naturaliste au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. 6 tom. 8vo. Paris: 1834-41. (Still in course of publication.)

OF all departments of the animal kingdom, the class *Reptilia* is the most varied and extraordinary, whether viewed in relation to general organic structure, or the instinctive habits of particular tribes. The sluggish turtle, with its broad and massive proportions, presents a singular contrast to the agile bright-eyed lizard and the slender snake; while the lurid toad, the changeful chameleon, the winged dragon, the fierce crocodile, the gigantic boa, and the poisonous cobra, exhibit a vast diversity of form and character. Their local habitations are also as varied as their name and nature. The wooded swamps of America, the burning and unscreened deserts of Africa, the jungles of Asia, the heaths of Europe, and the plains of New Holland, all produce their reptile tribes; and even the sea-encircled mariner, who voyages among the Indian Isles, beholds with wonder the aquatic species gliding serenely on the surface of the ocean, or submerging their radiant panoply amid the glittering waves, at a vast distance from any known land. Yet was the vision of the Ancient Mariner supernatural, as it behoved to be; for *no*

‘Slimy thing does crawl *with legs*
Upon the slimy sea.’

All marine reptiles are either *apodal*—that is, footless—or provided merely with fin-like members.

Although thus extensively distributed over earth and ocean—

‘Whatever clime the sun’s bright circle warms,’—

the reptile race may nevertheless be said to be chiefly characteristic of the southern regions of the globe: as we find the species become less abundant in the temperate zone; while such as are native to northern countries are few in number, small in size, feeble in constitution, and of such slow and sluggish habits, as to fall into a state of deathlike torpidity during the severer season of the year. It is chiefly such as partake of a semi-aquatic nature, of which frogs and newts are familiar examples, that occur in rigorous climates,—their power of supporting a languid life of hybernation in holes of the earth, the crevices of rocks and trees, or beneath the frozen surface of morasses, enabling

them to avoid the destructive influence of cold. But in such ice-bound latitudes, snakes and lizards are of comparatively rare occurrence; while turtles, tortoises, crocodiles, and chameleons, are nearly, if not quite, unknown. As usual, however, in the ongoings of nature, there is a beautiful gradation from group to group, rather than a sudden change of kinds. Thus the chameleon, so common along the African shores of the Mediterranean, is also found, as a connecting link, in the most southern parts of Spain; while the tortoises, which, as a great natural group, may be regarded as characteristic of the warmest regions of Asia and Africa, are still represented in our own continent by the Calabrian and other species. But it is in the torrid zone that we meet not only with the greatest number, but the most gigantic development, of the reptile race. The largest crocodiles and caymans, the hugest boas, the heaviest turtles, as well as the most varied and plentiful supply of venomous serpents, all occur in the warmest regions of the earth.

Although it was only in recent times that the exact nature of reptiles, and their true relation to the other great divisions of the animal kingdom, came to be clearly apprehended, it cannot be supposed that creatures of such singular and sometimes fearful aspect, should not have excited an early interest in the minds of men. To make no mention of the most ancient Hebrew writers, both Herodotus and Athenæus convey to us several insulated notices of various reptiles; but it is in the works of Aristotle that we first find a knowledge of the subject, not more extensive than profound. Under the title of ‘Oviparous quadrupeds and ‘serpents,’ he treats of those great groups which Linnæus, two thousand years afterwards, combined under the unhappy name of *Amphibia*,—a term so inapplicable not only to the fabled basilisk, in *vacua arena*, but to a vast majority of authentic species,—dwellers in dry and desert lands, which know not the dew of the morning. The appellation of reptile (from the Latin *repto*, to crawl or creep) seems to have been first bestowed upon the present class, with systematic signification, about the middle of last century, in the works of Lyonet and Brisson, while the term *Erpetology*, (from ἐρπῆτον—λόγος,) by which the science itself is now distinguished, is of still more modern application.

From the days of Aristotle almost until the eighteenth century, this science may be said to have rather retrograded than progressed, so far at least as concerns the true and simple annals of its subjects. Conrad Gesner, the German Pliny, (*monstrum eruditionis*, as he is styled by Boerhaave,) overlaid the matter with all kinds of cumbrous lore; while Aldrovandi, the great Italian compiler, whose work on reptiles was published posthu-

mously by Ambrosini in 1640, is still more diffuse and disorderly. He gives not only the actual history of reptiles, (according at least to his own views of truth and nature,) but adds every thing that can be made to bear upon that history, whether symbolic, medallie, hieroglyphical, or imaginary. During the eighteenth century a considerable variety of writers contributed in different degrees towards the improvement of the subject; but the excellent arrangement now so generally adopted by naturalists, corresponds in all its leading features with that communicated to the Academy of Sciences by M. Alexandre Brogniart in 1799.

In accordance with that system, all reptiles are arranged into four primary groups or orders, as follows:—

I. *Chelonian Reptiles*, (from *χελώνη*, a tortoise.)—This division contains the tortoises and turtles. The heart, in all the species, is furnished with two auricles, and the body, supported on four legs, is contained within an osseous case, composed as it were of an upper and an under buckler, formed by a peculiarly expanded structure of the ribs and sternum.

II. *Saurian Reptiles*, (from *σαυρος*, a lizard.)—These consist of crocodiles, lizards, chameleons, guanos, and other analogously constructed creatures. Their heart has likewise two auricles, and the legs are four in number, but the body, with rare exceptions, is covered with scales.

III. *Ophidian Reptiles*, (from *ὄφις*, a serpent.)—This group contains the various kinds of snakes, whether terrestrial or aquatic, innocuous or endowed with poisonous qualities. The heart is furnished with two auricles, but the body is destitute of legs.

IV. *Batrachian Reptiles*, (from *βατραχος*, a frog.)—In these (which include frogs, toads, newts, salamanders, syrens, &c.) the heart has only a single auricle,* the body is naked or without scales, and the majority of the species, as they approach maturity, undergo a transition from a fishlike form with gills, to a quadrupedal state with lungs. A few, however, never lose their gills, and certain species have only a pair of legs.

We do not here propose to enter into any technical details of the subject, but shall rather endeavour to illustrate the general

* The more recent observations of Dr Davy seem to have demonstrated, that the apparently simple auricle of the heart in certain *Batrachian* reptiles, is in fact divided into two by a complete, though transparent, partition.—See *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*. Vol. v. p. 160. We understand that the discovery has been since confirmed by MM. Webert, Martin Saint-Ange, and others.

nature of the preceding great groups, by describing the prevailing character and attributes of a few of the more remarkable species contained in each. At present, however, we must confine our observations to the first and second orders,—reserving to some after opportunity an exposition of the truly singular history of the *Ophidians* and *Batrachians*. We commence with the turtle tribes.

The great sea-turtles belong to the genus *Chelonia* of modern naturalists, and differ from the tortoises, whether terrestrial or aquatic, in having long, flat, finlike feet, the united toes being covered by a membrane. Of all reptiles these are the most useful to the human race. Both the flesh and fat of more than one species, not only supply the epicure with a favourite luxury, but frequently afford a healthful change of diet to seafaring men. The eggs are also nutritious, although of unpleasant aspect, from the *green* colour of the *white*, (if we may so express it,) and the uncoagulable nature of that albumen. But the yolk is excellent, although, when much boiled, it becomes oily and translucent. It has been remarked that the eggs of all turtles are good; even of those more carnivorous kinds, of which the flesh is uneatable from its strong and musky odour. Indeed, a similar observation may be made regarding birds. The eggs of the guillemot and other sea-fowl, afford excellent eating, although their bodies are distinguished by a rank and fishy flavour.

Portions of the shell of these reptiles are also useful for various ornamental purposes, and the entire covering has been made to serve as the roof of a dwelling, or even as a means of transport over the great waters. Both Strabo and Pliny have recorded its multifarious uses among the *Chelonophagi*, who dwelt by the shores of the Red Sea, and whose name implies that they fed habitually on turtles.* It is related in Dampier's voyages how the youthful son of a sea captain—

‘Launch’d from the margin of a bay
Among the Indian Isles, where lay
His father’s ship, and had sail’d far,
To join that gallant ship of war,
In his delightful shell :’

while the poet Wordsworth, discarding his ‘Tale of a Tub,’ has

* ‘Tantæ enim magnitudinis apud eos proveniunt testudines, ut singulæ, singulis casis tegendis sufficiunt, et navigantibus Chelonophagis scapharum usum præbeant.’—Plin. *Hist. Anim.* Lib. VI. cap. xxv. \

substituted a similar shell for the more soapy associations of the 'chosen vessel,' in which he had formerly embarked his Highland boy :—

'And, as a coracle that braves
On Vaga's breast the fretful waves,
This shell upon the deep would swim,
And gaily lift its fearless brim
Above the tossing surge.'

Although turtles are of various kinds, (naturalists are now acquainted with seven or eight species,) and differ considerably in their structure and character, they agree in this, that they rarely venture on shore except during the periodical deposition of their eggs. On desert and unpeopled coasts, and the lonely shores of uninhabited islands, they more frequently seek the land; but an innate knowledge of their own defective movements upon *terra firma*, seems to deter them from leaving the salubrious sea. 'All the species,' says Mr Audubon, 'move through the water with surprising speed; but the green and hawk-billed in particular remind you, by the celerity and ease of their motions, of the progress of birds through the air.' With the exception of the cetaceous tribes, and a few marine serpents, they are probably the most aquatic of all animals not belonging to the class of fishes; being frequently seen floating, as if in a familiar and accustomed home, seven or eight hundred miles from land. Turtles are very prolific. Above three thousand eggs, in various degrees of development, have been counted in the body of a female; of these, however, only a few hundred are laid, after certain intervals, in the course of a single season. Their form is nearly spherical, and they are usually hatched in from fifteen to twenty days. The young, immediately after exclusion, are soft in texture, and pale in colour; the compartments of the shell being only indicated by certain star-like marks. They instinctively make their way towards the water side, where they are said to experience some difficulty in so adjusting their specific gravity as to admit of an immediate submergence; and many find the journey, though short, disastrous; being carried off by birds and beasts of prey, or picked up by an ambuscade of insidious alligators. Youth and innocence are ever beset by perils, and there is little rest for turtles on this side the tureen. These great reptiles are most abundantly distributed over the seas of the torrid zone; and such as are met with in the more temperate parts of the Atlantic ocean, and in the Mediterranean waters, may be said to have pushed their way beyond the usual limits of their kind.

One of the most noted species is *Chelonia mydas*, commonly called the green turtle, not on account of its external colour, but because its fat assumes, when the creature is in high condition, a peculiar greenish hue. When the face of an alderman, 'celestial rosy red,' is glowing benignly with the prospect of the far-famed soup, do his thoughts ever wander to the Bahama islands, or to the far Tortugas, where his undecapitated victims are floating tranquilly on the blue profound, or paddling peacefully towards the sandy shores? Let an eyewitness describe the scenes of turtle life. 'A blaze,' says Mr Audubon, 'of refulgent glory streams through the portals of the west, and the masses of vapour assume the semblance of mountains of molten gold. But the sun has now disappeared, and from the east slowly advances the grey curtain which night draws over the world. . . . Slowly advancing landward, their heads alone above water, are observed the heavily-laden turtles, anxious to deposit their eggs in the well-known sands. On the surface of the gently rippling streams, I dimly see their broad forms as they toil along, while at intervals may be heard their hurried breathings, indicative of suspicion and fear. The moon with her silvery light now illumines the scene, and the turtle having landed, slowly and laboriously drags her heavy body over the sand, her *flappers* being better adapted for motion in the water than on shore. Up the slope, however, she works her way, and see how industriously she removes the sand beneath her, casting it out on either side. Layer after layer she deposits her eggs, arranging them in the most careful manner, and with her hind paddles brings the sand over them. The business being accomplished, the spot is covered over, and with a joyful heart she returns towards the shore, and launches into the deep.' *

These maternal duties are rapidly accomplished. Although the eggs are dropped singly, and ranged in layers, to the number of one hundred and fifty and upwards at a time, the entire period occupied does not exceed twenty minutes. The newly hatched young, according to the financial phraseology of the Americans, are at first no bigger 'than a dollar.' In the adult state, however, they attain to a gigantic size, sometimes measuring above six feet in length, with a weight of eight hundred pounds. The food of the green turtle consists chiefly of that long grass-like sea-weed, called *Zostera marina*, and the

greenish hue of the fat has been by some attributed to that peculiar diet.

The logger-headed turtle (*Chelonia caretta*) is a still more magnificent monster; but he is of no value, either in a commercial or culinary point of view—his shell being useless, and his flesh extremely coarse and rank in flavour. He is bold and voracious in his habits, preying upon shellfish and other animal productions, which he crunches with his powerful beak. This species is not uncommon in the Mediterranean, and has been occasionally carried by currents or other causes to the British shores. It is widely spread along the Atlantic coasts of America.

But the largest of all these marine reptiles is the coriaceous turtle, (*Chelonia coriacea*), so called on account of the softer and more impressible nature of its external covering, which is rather of the texture of leather than of horn.* It may be regarded as a rare species, although it occurs occasionally both in the Mediterranean sea and the Atlantic ocean. A specimen taken about three leagues from Nantes, near the mouth of the Loire, measured above seven feet in length, and when captured is said to have uttered a loud and hideous cry,† while its mouth ‘foamed with rage, and exhaled a noisome vapour.’ Though sometimes found extremely fat, and otherwise in fine condition, the flesh of the coriaceous turtle forms a most indifferent article of food. It is, however, eaten by the Carthusians. The species was formerly known to the Greeks, and is regarded by Lacepede as *classical*, in respect to the formation of the ancient harp or lyre—an instrument originally constructed by stringing the carapace of a turtle. It is still called *luth* or lyre by the French. About ninety years ago, two specimens of great size were taken in the mackerel nets off the coast of Cornwall soon after midsummer. One of these was described by Dr Borlase as measuring ‘six feet nine inches ‘from the tip of the nose to the end of the shell, ten feet four

* The character above named, and others which we need not here detail, have induced modern naturalists to separate the coriaceous turtle from its neighbours. It consequently now forms the genus *Sphargis* of Merrem.—See his *Tentamen Systematis Amphibiorum*.

† Delafont, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*, Ann. 1729, p. 8. There is probably some exaggeration here; reptiles are habitually silent, although the croaking of frogs is loud and frequent. But the land *Chelonians* are entirely mute, and we have never heard any of the great sea-turtles give utterance to any other sound than that of a prolonged breathing, quite inaudible at a short distance.

‘inches from the extremities of the fore fins extended, and was adjudged to weigh eight hundred pounds.’*

Another species, called the imbricated turtle, (*Chelonia imbricata*,) on account of the mode in which its dorsal plates overlap, instead of being embedded in each other, is of great value; by reason of the beautiful transparency and elegantly mottled character of its external covering—from which is formed the ornamental article so familiarly known as *tortoise-shell*. This kind is much inferior in size to those already mentioned, and, although its eggs are excellent, its flesh is of no value. It is named the *hawkshell* in books of voyages, and other miscellaneous works, on account of the peculiar form and prolongation of the muzzle; and is known as *la Tuilée* to the French, in reference to the overlapping or tile-like disposition of the scales. These dorsal plates are easily disturbed by the application of heat. In their natural state they are extremely brittle, but on being plunged into boiling water they become soft and pliable, and are then placed between smooth flat plates of metal, or pieces of compact wood, and after cooling they retain the form with which they have been impressed. They admit of a high polish, and are easily joined together, or soldered, by means of heat and pressure.

This beautiful substance was well known and highly prized in ancient times. It was used by both the Greeks and Romans in the ‘outward adorning’ of pillars and doorways; as well as in the interior decorations of beds and other household articles. It is stated by Velleius Paterculus, that when Alexandria was taken by Julius Cæsar, immense supplies of tortoise-shell were found in the magazines; and it was even proposed that the great Commentator should have made it the principal ornament of his triumph, as at a future period he is known to have done with ivory, on the close of his African war. Mr Schoepf informs us, that unless a turtle of this kind weighs about a hundred and fifty pounds, the shell is of little value.† The quantity yielded varies from five to twenty pounds. The species is widely distributed over the Indian and American seas, and occurs, though rarely, in the Mediterranean. There are several other sea-turtles known to naturalists, of which, however, we cannot here give account.

We shall now repose for a time on *terra firma*, with a view to investigate very briefly the general history of the land species,

* *Natural History of Cornwall*. P. 287. tab. 27.

† *Historia Testudinum iconibus illustrata*.

or tortoises properly so called. Of these, the most peculiar character consists in the form of the feet, which are blunt or truncated, with the toes immoveably massed together beneath the skin, and terminated by shapeless claws. If we may compare small things to great, the feet in question represent not inaptly the feet of elephants, with this additional disadvantage that the soles are soft, which induces these reptiles to walk as it were on the edge of the foot. Their locomotive powers are consequently feeble and defective. We may add that their shells are proportionably higher, or more convex, than those of the aquatic kinds. Of all the *Chelonian* reptiles, they have also the thickest, hardest, heaviest shells, in proportion to their own dimensions; and it has been remarked that their protecting covering is completed, so far as strength and solidity are concerned, before the creature has itself attained the adult state; which is not the case with either the mud or river tortoises, or the great marine turtles. An enormous resisting power results from the structure just referred to,—a small American species, *T. Polyphemus*, for example, being able to sustain without incumbrance the weight of six hundred pounds. All the species of this group speedily perish in the water, as they cannot swim, and their prehensile powers are greatly restricted by the defective, or at least the peculiar structure of the feet, which disenables them from grasping. Indeed they owe their family name of *Chersites*, by which they are now distinguished in our modern system, to a Greek word (*χέρσις*) applied to them by Aristotle, and which signifies *living on land*.

The eggs of tortoises are usually as round as a billiard ball, although in certain species they are elongated and almost cylindrical; that is, without the terminal disparity which predominates in the eggs of birds. They are hard and calcareous, and the included young are provided with a protuberance from the beak, which facilitates the process of exclusion. The majority of the species inhabit either woody situations, or places abounding in herbage. In temperate climates subject to winter's cold, they form or take possession of holes of no great depth, into which they retire during the severe season; and they deposit their eggs, of which they take no further charge, in a somewhat similar excavation. In regard to diet, although they have been seen to eat small shells and insects, their principal food consists of vegetation of various kinds—lettuce being a special favourite. They may be said to tear, rather than cut it, with their mandibles; that is, after placing their fore feet upon a leaf, they take a portion in their mouths, and break it off by means of a backward motion of the head.

The geographical distribution of these land tortoises is very extensive. Only three species occur in Europe,—*T. marginata*, *Mauritanica*, and *Græca*. Nine are found in Africa and its islands ; and of these six are peculiar to continental Africa, and one to Madagascar. Some confusion exists regarding the localities of the Asiatic kinds ; but India in general, and the eastern islands, produce at least six species. Few are found in either the continental or insular countries of the New World. Including the genus *Cynnixis*, which is peculiar to America, we believe that not more than eight or nine occur in the western world. Among these we are averse at present to include one described by M. D'Orbigny as found in Patagonia, and which corresponds so closely with *T. sulcata*, a well-known African species, (imported long ago by Delalande, and more recently described by Rüppell,) that some mistake may reasonably be apprehended. The existence of any land reptile, common alike to Africa and America, would be a most extraordinary fact in zoological geography, and one of which we have hitherto had no example.*

All the European land tortoises belong to the restricted genus *Testudo*, of modern writers—a group characterised by five toes on each foot, although there are only four claws on the posterior pair. The best and most anciently known species is the Greek tortoise, —*T. Græca*. It appears to be actually limited to the southern portions of Europe ; that is, to Greece, Italy, and the principal islands of the Mediterranean. Its natural occurrence as indigenous, in Spain and Portugal, has not been clearly determined ; and although it is now common in the south of France, it is known historically to have been imported thither from Italy. That it occurs in all the countries which surround the basin of the Mediterranean, is merely a misconception fallen into by those, and adopted by others, who have not detected the difference between it and the kind which is common to the coast of Barbary. On the other hand, the latter does not occur in Greece. The

* The following tabular view exhibits the distribution of the four generic groups which compose the family of terrestrial tortoises, (*Chersites*), and the amount of species in each :—

Genera.	Asia.	Europe.	Africa.	Common to Europe and Africa.	America	Total.
<i>Testudo</i> .	5	3	7	1	5	20
<i>Pyxis</i> .	1	...	...	...	...	1
<i>Cynnixis</i>.	...	...	...	...	3	3
<i>Homopus</i>.	...	...	2	...	...	2
Total in each } great region. }	6	3	9	1	8	26

Greek tortoise feeds chiefly on herbage. It affects dry and somewhat sandy soils, not destitute of wood. It pairs in summer, and the female lays from four to twelve eggs, white and spherical, of the size of small walnuts. She deposits them in a shallow hole, or hollow, of such depth as not to debar the direct influence of solar heat. The males fight fiercely, cold-blooded though they be, while under the influence of sexual passion. They bite each other's necks, and wrestle and jostle with the greatest determination, the object of each being to turn his neighbour over on his back,—a position from which he cannot easily recover the use of his limbs, and is thereby placed *hors de combat* for all other purposes. Like most land reptiles they delight in warmth and sunshine; and at noonday, during the height of the ardent though delicious Sicilian summer, they are often found by the sides of the highways, with their shells so hot that it is scarcely possible to hold them in an ungloved hand. The extraordinary longevity to which this species sometimes attains is too notorious to be mentioned; as almost every one has read of Archbishop Laud's tortoise, which was introduced to the garden at Lambeth palace about the year 1633, and died, rather from accidental neglect than of a good old age, in 1753. The Greek tortoise is sold as food in the Italian and Sicilian markets; but it is used rather as an ingredient in making broth, than for its flesh.

Another species is the margined tortoise—*T. marginata*, first distinctly characterised, and distinguished from the preceding, by Jean David Schœpf, a Bavarian physician and naturalist, who died about the commencement of the present century. Additional knowledge regarding it was obtained by the recent French scientific mission to the Morea, under M. Bory de St Vincent.* Up to that period it had been regarded as an exclusively African reptile; that is, as occurring only in Egypt and the coast of Barbary, but it is now known to be as common in Greece as the so-called *Testudo Græca*. It is singular, however, that Aristototele and the ancient writers indicate only one land-tortoise, under the title of *χελώνη χερσαία*, as indigenous in that country. But there is now no doubt, that two distinct kinds must have been confounded together under a single name. Indeed, there is a passage in Pausanias, in which that writer states that the beech forests of Arcadia produce tortoises of so large a size, that their shell may be made to serve in the formation of the harmonic lyre, equally with those of India. Now, although the margined

* *Zoologie de la Morée*. Pl. ii. fig. 2.

tortoise is much less than the majority of the Asiatic kinds, it is yet somewhat larger than the Greek one; and so, making some allowance for the exaggeration of the old topographer, he may have actually indicated this recently recognized species.

The third and last of the European kinds is *Testudo Mauritanica*. It derives its name from the frequency of its occurrence along that Mediterranean portion of Africa, anciently called Mauritania, and in the neighbourhood of Algiers it is very abundant. Indeed, since the French occupation of Algeria, it is frequent in the Parisian markets, being imported thither rather as an article of curiosity to be kept in gardens, than to serve as food. Its claim to be regarded as a European species, in the ordinary sense of the term, is very slender; but, according to M. Menestries, it is of frequent occurrence in fruit-gardens in the environs of Bakou, a town on the western shore of the Caspian sea.

The mud or marsh tortoises form a separate family, much more numerous than the preceding. All the species have the phalanges, or divisions of the toes, distinct and perceptible, and the toes themselves possess the power of motion, although usually united by a membrane. The feet are thus formed for walking; but, as they are also webbed, their swimming powers are excellent, and they therefore dwell by the banks of streams, in marshes, and other moist abodes. Hence their family name of *Elodites*, from ἑλος, a marsh. They are in some measure intermediate in their character between the aquatic kinds, strictly so called, whether marine or fluviatile, and the terrestrial species already noticed. From the less encumbered structure of the toes, they are much more active in their movements, even on land, than the terrestrial group, while they swim with considerable facility. Like the river kinds, they feed almost exclusively on living animal substances. The family is composed of fourteen genera, containing about seventy-four species. They occur both in the Old and New World, and even in Australia, where no land tortoise has been as yet detected. Their geographical allotment differs in many other respects from that of those just named. For example, while America produces only a few species of land tortoise, we find that of the seventy-four kinds which constitute the *Elodites*, forty-five are peculiar to the western world, while only three are found in Africa, which is rather rich in the terrestrial species.

A very brief consideration of the great distinctive physical features of the various continents of the earth, would suffice to explain these zoological peculiarities; but we dare not here enter into that enquiry. We shall merely call to mind that one

of the most influential physical characters of America is the absence of sandy deserts. Of North America, especially, the natural formation and position preclude the existence of these arid wastes, which result from a surface comparatively low and level, the absence of neighbouring mountains, and the consequent deficiency of moisture. Wherever a continent or country forms an expanded flat for more than a few hundred miles, beneath a generally cloudless sky, it will become a desert. It is thus that a vast extent of central Africa, from a deficiency of elevated ranges, is unable to collect a sufficing store of moisture to fertilize its thirsty plains, and clothe its arid wastes with verdure. No cool and cloud-capped mountains cast their far shadows across those sultry sands,—no upland and refreshing valleys, ‘keeping till June December’s snow,’ give forth rejoicingly the sparkling waters of perennial streams. But America enjoys the advantage not only of being encircled by salubrious seas, but of possessing within itself the loftiest mountains, the mightiest rivers, and the most expanded lakes; while the trade winds, deeply saturated with moisture, enter the great valley of the Mississippi, where they pour down their load of vapours, clothing the lengthened slopes and undulating plains of vast extent, with all the rich luxuriance of a life-sustaining vegetation.* Hence an American wilderness is widely different from a desert region, because (richer than the gold of Ophir) a deep-seated and far-spread power of fertility slumbers unseen even amid its lifeless solitudes.

‘Pure element of waters! wheresoe’er

Thou dost forsake thy subterranean haunts,

Green herbs, bright flowers, and berry-bearing plants,

Rise into life, and in thy train appear;

And, through the sunny portion of the year,

Swift insects shine, thy hovering pursuivants.

But, if thy bounty fail, the forest pants,

And hart and hind, and hunter with his spear,

Languish and droop together.’

The existence, then, (for we must return to our reptiles,) of vast rivers, lakes, and marshes, in America, suffices to explain the abundance of tortoises belonging to the moist family of the

* See a short paper entitled, ‘The United States exempt from deserts, and all the evils consequent thereon,’ in Featherstonhaugh’s *Monthly American Journal of Geology and Natural Science*. Philadelphia, August 1831.

Elodites; while the contrary character of the African continent affords an equally natural reason for the fact, that scarcely any of that family has been discovered there at all. Thus, of the twenty-nine species already referred to as foreign to America, not more than three occur in continental Africa, although about an equal number is found in the island of Madagascar. Two are natives of New Holland, three are indigenous to Europe, while the remaining eighteen rejoice in the well-watered portions of India and the Eastern Archipelago. Of the South American species there is a noted fishery on an island of the Oronoco, of a kind called *arrau*, of which we know not the scientific name. It weighs from forty to fifty pounds, and is captured chiefly for the oil obtained from its eggs. Of this article it was calculated by M. de Humboldt, that five thousand jars or *botijas* were collected annually; and that, to yield that quantity, three hundred and thirty thousand tortoises must visit the shores in question, and lay thirty-three millions of eggs.

The extent of these general notices must debar our entering into the detailed history of particular kinds. We shall restrict ourselves to those of Europe. Of these, the best known and most extensively distributed, belongs to the genus *Cistudo* of Dr Fleming.* It is usually distinguished by the specific name of *lutaria*, and is very generally known as the mud tortoise, on account of its preferring the soft soil of ponds and marshes to the clearer bed of rivers. However, it swims with celerity, and is consequently enabled to prey on small fishes, as well as on shells and insects. Its own flesh, though by no means agreeable, is frequently used as food. The mud tortoise inhabits Greece, Italy, many of the Mediterranean islands, Spain, Portugal, the south of France, Hungary, and even as far north as the Prussian kingdom. On the approach of winter it leaves the water, and seeks out some subterranean hiding-place, where it lies in a lethargic state till spring. Though itself aquatic, it lays its eggs on land, as in fact do all *Chelonian* reptiles. The two remaining European tortoises belong to the genus *Emys*. Of these the kind called *Caspica*, is not only found, as its name implies, along the coasts of the Caspian sea, but also in Dalmatia and the

* *Philosophy of Zoology*. Vol. ii. p. 270. 'Nous avons conservé,' say MM. Dumeril and Bibron, 'à un genre dont les espèces ont les plastron également mobile devant et derrière, le nom de *cistude*, sous lequel il avait été établi et designé par M. Fleming, l'Américain, en 1825.' We had always fancied that Professor Fleming of Aberdeen was a Scotsman!

Morea. The other, termed *sigriz*, occurs in Spain. It is also an African species. Many of the American kinds afford excellent eating, especially *Emys concentrica*, which inhabits the salt marshes.

We shall conclude this department of our subject by a brief notice of the fourth and last family of *Chelonian* reptiles,—the river tortoises, or *Potamites*. Of these the majority dwell habitually in running streams, where they swim with great celerity, their shells being broad and flat, and their feet partly webbed. The body is greatly depressed, and the marginal edges of the shell are in general soft and flexible. The edges of the jaws are covered by a kind of reduplication of the skin, fulfilling the office of fleshy lips,—a character unexampled in the reptile kingdom. Both the upper and under shield are covered by a smooth coriaceous naked skin. The feet are flat, and composed of five toes, of which only three are furnished with nails,—from whence the generic name of *Trionyx*, bestowed by Geoffroy.* The species are few in number, and none occurs in Europe. In their habits they are active and voracious, preying upon various other reptiles, fishes, and even birds. Their aspect is peculiar from the lengthened form of the neck, which is contractile, and enables them to dart forward the head with the rapidity of an arrow. They bite severely, and only loose their grasp by carrying away the portion they have seized. The American fishermen consequently hold them in great dread, but contrive to quiet them in some measure by cutting off their heads. They are esteemed as articles of food, and are caught by means of hooks baited with a small fish, and kept in motion to render the lure the more deceptive. We have never ourselves angled any where for tortoises. Naturalists are acquainted with about a dozen of the kind in question, variously distributed over Asia, Africa, and America. The Egyptian species called *tyrse*, or the *soft turtle* of the Nile, is serviceable by destroying young crocodiles the moment they are hatched. Another, *Trionyx ferox*, is well known in various rivers of North America, where it is said to lie in ambuscade among reeds and rushes, from whence it seizes upon inexperienced birds and youthful alligators.

It will be seen from the preceding sketch of the *Chelonian* rep-

* The group has recently been re-arranged in accordance with the exposure or concealment of the limbs; that is, their power of being naturally withdrawn beneath the carapace. Hence the formation of two genera, *Gymnopus* and *Cryptopus*, and the disappearance of the older generic term.

tiles, that the order is alike numerous and diversified.* We have now to present a corresponding exposition of the great *Saurian* order.

It is in the work of Herodotus—an eyewitness to the wonders of the ancient Egyptian world—that we find the earliest and most accurate observations on the crocodile.† His truthful details are of course commingled with statements which later investigations have failed to confirm. Of such is the passages regarding the bird called *Trochilos*, which, whenever the reptile comes ashore, and opens its ponderous jaws, immediately proceeds to pick out certain small creatures called *bdellæ*, found adhering to the interior of the mouth. These *bdellæ* which are suctorial beings of some kind or other, have been usually regarded by commentators as horse-leeches; but a French naturalist, M. Descourtils, having stated that in America *gnats* have been seen to attach themselves to the mouths of alligators, M. Geoffroy St Hilaire, in a learned dissertation, (in the natural history portion of the great French work on Egypt,) has adopted the opinion that the term *bdellæ* corresponds to *culcx*. Now, as it is a matter of everyday observation, that gnats will attack bulls and other large terrestrial animals of the fiercest nature, and that wagtails and other insectivorous birds will peck the former from their muzzles, we have no great objection to go a step further, and suppose that in Egypt there may be some shore-bred bird which ventures to seek its prey in the ‘imminent deadly breach’ even of a crocodile’s jaws; in which case, the statement by Herodotus need be deemed no longer fabulous.

* The student of this branch of natural history will not fail to consult Mr Bell’s beautiful *Monograph of the Testudinata*. Mr Gray’s *Synopsis Reptilium* will also be found a useful summary.

† The derivation of the name of crocodile, according to Cuvier, is from ‘*Κροκοδειλος, qui craint le rivage*,’ at first sight a singular and most inappropriate application to a creature which, so far from fearing shores or marginal banks, is scarcely ever found elsewhere. But it appears that the Greeks had originally applied the term to an indigenous lizard of their own country, which bred in hedges and avoided moisture, and that they merely transferred the title to its gigantic Egyptian representative. The Greek word also literally signifies *fearful of saffron*; but such interpretation, in reference to the creature in question, has no meaning that we know of. According to Herodotus, the ancient Egyptian name of the crocodile was *Chamses*, an appellation still sufficiently obvious in that of *temsach*, by which it is now known in modern Egypt.

Aristotle's description and remarks are in a great measure borrowed from the old Greek historian; and it is the opinion of Schneider,* (equally eminent as a scholar and naturalist,) that the Stagyræite himself never enjoyed any personal opportunity of observing the habits of this great reptile. Diodorus Siculus refers to the destruction of its eggs by the ichneumon. Strabo narrates the divine honours paid to it by the natives of Arsinoë, (*Crocodilopolis*.) Ælian indicates the existence of the Gangetic or Indian species; but neither he nor Pliny adds to our actual knowledge of the subject, which has only been matured in modern times.

We know that the crocodile was worshipped as a divinity by the ancient Egyptians, who maintained it during life in luxurious splendour, and afterwards gave it embalment and sepulture amid the mysterious gloom of their subterranean chambers. Certain disparities of form in the crania of these animals, have given rise to the opinion that more than one species existed in Egypt; and that it was a kind called *Suchus* or *Souchis* which was consecrated in the religious ceremonies of the people. Thus M. Geoffroy St Hilaire supposes that the more narrow-muzzled sort always continued of less size than the others, were mild and inoffensive in their manners, and that their comparative smallness causing them to keep closer in shore during the periods of inundation, they thus became the familiar precursors and accompaniments of that mighty change. This is conformable to the opinion of Jablonski, that the *Suchis* was a peculiar species, reared by preference for the temple service. But Baron Cuvier combats that idea, and we think successfully; by showing that the sacred crocodile was naturally not less ferocious than its neighbours, and that the narrow-muzzled variety was not exclusively cared for by the priests; the others being equally found embalmed in the ancient catacombs. He thinks that the term *suchus* was applied, not to the species in the abstract, but to whatever individual was, for the time being, the representative of divinity; just as the sacred bull of Memphis was named *Apis*, that of Heliopolis *Mnevis*, and that of Hermonthis *Pacis*,—these various terms signifying, not particular or distinct kinds of cattle, but merely different individuals of the same species.†

* *Hist. Amphibiorum Nat. et Litt.* Fascic. II. p. 6.

† According to Bochart the word *suchus* is derived from the Hebrew, and signifies *swimmer*; an appropriate name for the crocodile of Arsinoë, if, as Diodorus reports, its worship was established by an Egyptian king who was saved from drowning by one of those animals carrying him ashore upon its back.—See *Recherches sur les Animaux Fossiles*. (4th edition.) T. ix. p. 96. M. Champollion has shown that *souk* was the name of an

There is not certainly the slightest direct evidence from ancient writers that more than one species of true crocodile occurred in Egypt; (the *land* crocodile, so-designated by Aristotle and others, is merely a large lizard of the genus *Monitor*;) while we have the clearest proof that that species was naturally of a savage disposition. The sacred individuals being well attended to, and faring sumptuously every day, were tame and familiar, at all events to their priestly attendants, (*χειροήθης τοῖς ιερεῦσι*, are the words of Strabo,) just as we now see the most ferocious beasts subdued by the Van Amburghs of the present day: but, far from this docility of disposition being manifested by the species in its natural state, it is expressly referred to by Aristotle, as a proof of the ameliorating influence of an abundant and continuous supply of food, on the habits of predacious animals. We know, moreover, from the report of Ælian, that in districts where crocodiles were habitually slaughtered, the inhabitants could bathe and swim securely in the river; whereas at Coptos and Arsinoë, where even the unconsecrated individuals were regarded with feelings of reverence, they scarcely dared to walk by the margin, or draw water from the brink of the stream. Indeed, whatever may have given origin to so uncouth a worship, it was not certainly an admiration of the creature's amenity of life. On the contrary, many have maintained that its ferocity led to its adoration, on account of the useful dread which it inspired in the minds of the Libyan and Arabian robbers. 'Egyptii,' says Cicero, 'nullam belluam nisi ob aliquam utilitatem consecraverunt: crocodilum, quod terrore arceat latrones.'*

It must indeed produce a startling and rather astounding effect, especially upon the timid mind of an invalid, when one of these carnivorous monsters is unexpectedly met with any fine summer morning at a watering-place. Dr Darwin has drawn, as usual, an inflated but not ineffective picture of its general aspect.

Egyptian god who corresponded to Saturn, and is represented on ancient monuments with the head of a crocodile.

* While referring to the knowledge of these animals obtained by the earlier European nations, the authors of the *Erpétologie Générale* (t. iii. p. 49) have observed:—'Les Romains, au rapport de Pline, n'ont commencé à connaître ces animaux que sous l'édilat de Scaurus, et sept années avant l'ère Chrétienne.' Pliny has certainly said many absurd things, but he does not attempt to bring down the Edileship of Scaurus from fifty-eight to seven years before the Christian era. It was the Emperor Augustus, who, during the latter period, filled the Flavianian circus with water, and there exhibited thirty-six living crocodiles, which were afterwards publicly slain by men accustomed to fight with monsters.

‘Erewhile emerging from the brooding sand,
With tiger paw he prints the brineless strand;
High on the flood with speckled bosom swims,
Helm’d with broad tail, and oar’d with giant limbs;
Rolls his fierce eyeballs, clasps his iron claws,
And champs with gnashing teeth his massy jaws :
Old Nilus sighs through all his cane-crown’d shores,
And swarthy Memphis trembles and adores.’

But although the famous valley of the Nile harbours, along its moist alluvial banks, only a single kind of crocodile, the general genus contains a considerable number of species. These constitute the largest, strongest, fiercest, and consequently most formidable, of the reptile race. They inhabit the shores of the great rivers of both the old and new world, and exhibit a considerable diversity in respect to natural temper and disposition, according to the difference of kinds. Thus Mr Audubon informs us, that in North America they are so disinclined to annoy the human race, that he and his companions have often waded up to the waist among hundreds of them ; while the cattle-drivers may be seen beating them away with staves before they cross the rivers with their live stock ; for it is admitted that they readily attack cattle, and will seize upon such animals as dogs and deer, or even horses. On the other hand, the governor of Angustura informed Mr Waterton, that while he was one fine evening walking by the banks of the Oronoco, he saw a large cayman rush out of the river, seize upon a man, and carry him away in his horrid jaws. ‘ The screams of the poor fellow were terrible ‘ as the cayman was running off with him. He plunged into ‘ the river with his prey : we instantly lost sight of him, and ‘ never saw or heard him more.’ So also in regard to the African species, we may, among many other recorded examples of their fierceness, recall to mind the circumstance of Mungo Park’s negro guide Isaaco being twice seized by a crocodile while crossing the Ba Woolima with his asses, and escaping immediate death only by his presence of mind enabling him to gouge the eyes of the insatiate monster with his thumbs. He gained the shore bleeding profusely, with a deep wound in each thigh, and the marks of several teeth upon his back. He was unable to renew the journey for six days. Instead, however, of supposing any inaccuracy or misrepresentation on the part of one or other of these discordant authorities, it is more agreeable to reconcile their differences by bearing in mind, that crocodiles in the abstract form a great generic group, which contains within itself a wide and varied range of animal instincts. That these reptiles

are capable of being tamed and even domesticated, we know historically from the conspicuous rôle performed by the sacred crocodile of the Nile, in the religious ceremonial processions of the ancient Egyptians; and in modern times, (to say nothing of the fine family of thriving alligators raised by Bosc in North America,) Bruce has informed us that the negroes bring up crocodiles, which become, and continue, so mild and docile, that children amuse themselves by riding on their backs.

There is probably a greater disparity in point of bulk between a newly hatched and full grown animal of this group, than between the young and old of any other creature. Indeed Herodotus has remarked, that of all animals produced from an egg, the crocodile attains the greatest size. An adult individual must be two or three hundred times heavier than its offspring, and one of thirty feet in length (the extent of a female mentioned by Hasselquist) must have been about sixty times longer than its youthful progeny.

Although a full grown case-hardened crocodile, with its armature of 'scaly rind,' and formidable jaws beset with bristling teeth, need fear nothing short of a rifle-bullet through the eye, or a volley of slugs in the softer part of the abdomen, the eggs and young fall a frequent prey to many natural enemies. The ichneumons of Egypt, the otters and even ibises of the new world, and the great tortoises belonging to the genus *Trionyx*, attack them greedily in one or other of these defenceless states; while, at least so far as concerns the North American species, the male parent, repudiating all the claims of filial affection, throws, not his arms, but jaws around his unprotected young, and gulps them down in dozens. However, the negroes will attack even the adult animals, and kill them, by separating the tail from the body by blows of their hatchets. The oil (obtained by boiling) is used for machinery; and a practice prevailed at one time of making boots and shoes of alligator leather. The South American Indians eat the tail of these creatures, and they catch the owner of the tail by means of a large hook baited with a bird, or any small quadruped, and fastened to a tree by an iron chain. 'The flesh,' according to Catesby, 'is delicately white, but hath so perfumed a taste and smell that I never could relish it with pleasure.' The eggs of the crocodile are regarded as a luxury by some of the African tribes.

In regard to the geographical distribution of these great reptiles, we need scarcely inform our readers, that no species occurs in Europe. Neither has any been found in New Holland. The caymans or alligators are peculiar to America; the crocodiles, properly so called, are natives of both the old and new

world; the gavials are confined to Asia, to the verdant banks
 'Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams.'

But of the fourteen species of which the undivided genus is composed, Asia produces three crocodiles, besides the gavia; Africa furnishes at least two crocodiles; while America (including the West Indies as parts of the new world) supplies as many as the two other continents combined, viz., seven in all, of which five are alligators, and two are crocodiles,—the latter being found chiefly in Cuba, Martinique, and St Domingo.*

Our present limits will scarcely admit of our doing more than name the various species of the three divisions of the group, with a few brief notes on their nature and localities.

I. The Crocodiles, properly so called, (genus *Crocodilus*,) are distinguished by a more elongated form of head than the alligators; and the fourth pair of teeth in the lower jaw are the largest of the whole, and are received into a notch or hollow of the upper mandible. The hind-legs are toothed, or dentated, and the feet webbed.

The celebrated Egyptian species (*C. vulgaris*) is by no means confined to the country of the pyramids, but occurs in western and southern Africa,—in the island of Madagascar, the Malabar country, and Bengal. A geographical distribution, of so extensive a nature, of course produces, through the influence of climatic and other physical differences, a marked distinction in the individuals of distant countries; but these distinctions, though obvious to the naturalist, are not specific but local, and are found on the examination of a numerous suite of specimens gradually to blend into each other. As the Nilotic species occurs in India in pools and marshes at some distance from the river shores, M. Lesson, viewing that habit in connexion with certain external characters of no importance, has erroneously bestowed upon it

* The following table exhibits the numerical amount and geographical distribution of the species belonging to the three subdivisions of the old generic group of the crocodiles.

	Peculiar to Asia.	Common to Asia and Africa.	Peculiar to Africa.	Peculiar to America.	Doubtful.
Genus Crocodile, Alligator, Gavialis,	2	1	1	2	2
	0	0	0	5	0
	1	0	0	0	0
	3	1	1	7	2
Total species,					14

the name of *C. palustris*.* We are well assured, however, of the fact that it occurs in the Ganges, and is not distinct from that of Egypt.

But the most common crocodile in India is the double-crested kind, (*C. biporcatus*,) so called on account of two rugged ridges which proceed from the anterior angle of the eyes. It is found in Ceylon, Sumatra, and other great islands, as well as in the Carnatic and Bengal. We are not acquainted with its northern limit, but the following extract from a private letter now before us, and which we believe to be applicable to this species, shows its occurrence in western India, at least as far north as the 25th degree. The letter is dated from Kurrachee, in Scinde, on the northern side of the mouths of the Indus.

'As I have no further news, I may as well give you an account of a most extraordinary scene which I witnessed yesterday. Hearing that there were some warm springs worth seeing at a village about eight miles from hence, I started on foot with a guide, to visit them. On getting close to the village I saw a small swamp, resembling a pool of water left by the rains. It was now half dried up, and quite shallow. The day was intensely hot, and as I had done the distance in a couple of hours, I felt extremely thirsty, and so approached the pool. When I got to the edge, the guide who was with me pointed out something in the water, which I had myself taken to be the stump of a tree; and although I had my glasses on, I looked at it for some time before I found that I was standing within three feet of an immense alligator. I then perceived that the swamp was crowded with them, although they were all lying in the mud, so perfectly motionless that a hundred people might have passed without observing them. The guide laughed at the start I gave, and told me that they were quite harmless, having been tamed by a saint, a man of great piety, whose tomb was to be seen on a hill close by, and that they continued to obey the orders of a number of Fakeers who lived around the tomb. I proceeded there immediately, and got some of the Fakeers to come down to the water with a sheep. One of them then went close to the water, with a long stick, with which he struck the ground, and called to the alligators, which immediately came crawling out of the water, great and small together, and lay down upon the bank all round him. The sheep was then killed and quartered, and while this was going on the alligators continued crawling up till they had made a complete ring around us. The Fakeer kept walking about within the circle, and if any of them attempted to encroach, he rapped it unmercifully over the snout with his stick, and drove it backwards. Not one of them attempted to touch him, although they opened their mouths, and showed rows of teeth that seemed able to snap him in two at a bite. The quarters of the sheep were then thrown to them,

* Bellanger's *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*. (Zool. Report,) p. 305.

and the scene that followed was so indescribable that I shall not attempt it; but I think if you will turn to Milton, and read his account of the transformation of Satan and his crew in Pandemonium, you may form some faint idea "how dreadful was the din." In what manner these monsters were first tamed, I cannot say. The natives of course ascribe it to the piety of the saint, who is called Miegger Peer, or Saint Alligator,—“rather a rum” canonization.’

Whatever be the means employed, the coincidence of effect is singular between what we now find to be a modern practice in western India, and the priestly customs of the ancient Egyptians.

According to Mr Haensel, there are two kinds of crocodile in the Nicobar islands—the one small, fierce, and rapacious, the other of larger size, but less obtrusive habits, preying only upon carrion. The Danish missionary was one day walking along the coast of Queda, looking at a group of children sporting in the water, when he suddenly saw a large crocodile proceeding towards them from a creek. He immediately gave the alarm, by calling out loudly, and making signs to some Chinese at no great distance. But the Chinamen only laughed at him, and he ere long saw the great reptile swimming about among the youngers, while the latter amused themselves by affecting to drive it from them.*

Another Eastern species is the Siamese crocodile, (*C. galeatus*, Cuv.,) of which we as yet know nothing more than the figure and description transmitted by the French missionaries to the Academy of Sciences.† When M. Faujas de St Fond was preparing to bring forth his *Histoire de la Montagne de St Pierre de Maestricht*, he was probably not aware that the artist whom he employed to furnish him with the required portrait of the crocodile of the Nile, found it more convenient to copy art than nature; and so, laying his hands on Plate 64 (T. iii.) of the Transactions of the Academy, he produced the Siamese species instead of the Nilotic one.

The cuirassed crocodile (*C. cataphractus*, Cuv.) is a native of the western coasts of Africa. It is the only other species of the Old world, unless Graves’s crocodile, and that named after M. Journu,‡ of which the localities are not precisely known, should be afterwards ascertained to be likewise of African birth.

We come now to those of the New world,—not the alligators properly so called, which are peculiar to America,—but to a

* *Letters on the Nicobar Islands.* By John Gottfried Haensel.

† *Hist. Acad. des Sciences*, T. iii., part 2, p. 255.

‡ *C. Gravesii and Journii* of Bory St Vincent.

continuance of the true crocodiles, of which species occur there as well as in Asia and Africa. The first of these is the lozenge-scaled crocodile, (*C. rhombifer*, Cuv.,) with the habits of which we are not acquainted. This is a native of Cuba, and its resemblance to a rude figure in an old work by Hernandez,* has recently given rise to the belief that it may likewise occur in Mexico. The next is the slender-snouted crocodile, (*C. acutus*, Geoffroy,) an inhabitant of Martinique and St Domingo. It appears from a report by M. Adolphe Barrot, who was French Consul at Carthagena, that it is found in the northern continental parts of South America, although St Domingo may be regarded as its headquarters. As to its habits, M. Descourtils has stated that the female deposits her eggs in April and May, and that the young are hatched in a month. She scoops out a circular hollow in the sand, by means of her feet and muzzle, and lays twenty-eight eggs covered by a viscous liquid. They are placed in layers, separated from each other by a portion of the sandy soil. The mother leads her offspring to the still waters, defends them from threatened danger, and feeds them for three months by disgorging her own half-digested food.† M. Ricord, a gentleman in correspondence with the French Museum, adds, that she deposits her eggs in a somewhat careless and slovenly manner, with but a scanty covering of sand. He has even found them among rubbish by the river side. ‘J’en ai rencontré dans de la chaux ‘que des maçons avaient laissée au bord de la riviere.’‡

The obscure species already named as Journu's crocodile, of which we believe only a single specimen (that in the museum of Bordeaux) is known to naturalists, is remarkable for its narrow muzzle and comparatively slender teeth,—characters by which it is made to connect, as it were, its own division with the following more limited generic group.

II. The Gavials, (genus *Gavialis*, Geoffroy.) These are distinguished by their long, slender, sub-cylindrical muzzle. There are four slopes or notches in the upper jaw, to receive the first and fourth pairs of the under-teeth. The margins of the jaws are also straight, rather than sinuous, as among the other groups. The hind-legs are toothed on their outer edge, and the feet palmated to the toes.

There is only a single well authenticated species of this genus,—*G. Gangeticus*. It is usually called the crocodile of the

* *Nova Plant. Animal. et Min. Mex. Hist.* 1648—51.

† This ‘process of ejection’ seems doubted, if not denied, by Mr Waterton in a recent communication. See Mr Newman's *Zoologist*. Vol. i. p. 152.

‡ *Erpétologie Générale*, T. iii, p. 43.

Ganges; but as that famed river nourishes also the genuine crocodile, the term *gavial*, of Indian origin, is advisably applied to our present reptile. It was the belief of Baron Cuvier that a greater and a less gavial existed in the East; but that illustrious observer was eventually of the opinion, which all recent experience has confirmed, that the one is merely an immature condition of the other. Although the gavial is a giant of its kind, it is said to be merciful as well as strong. We should put but little trust in its tender mercies, if it had another kind of snout. But the cylindrical and attenuated form of the muzzle prevents its preying on the larger quadrupeds, as well as from attacking the human race; and so it considerably adapts itself to circumstances, and feeds on fishes and aquatic reptiles. As Ælian has recorded the existence of two kinds of crocodiles in the Ganges—‘the one innocuous, the other cruel’—it is supposed that the former indication refers to the gavial. We believe that the first renewal of acquaintance with it, in comparatively recent times, was made by Edwards, who about the middle of the preceding century described a young specimen received by Dr Mead from Bengal.* It chanced that the individual specimen had a peculiar aperture in the skin of the abdomen, which, as Dr Shaw observes, was probably nothing more than the passage by which the umbilical vessels were attached, during the creature’s confinement in the egg. But Edwards formed the odd and utterly erroneous opinion, that this was the opening to a ventral pouch, intended by nature (as in the opossum and kangaroo) for the reception of the young, and he described it so accordingly. An adult specimen in the British museum measures nearly eighteen feet in length. The geographical distribution of the gavial is not distinctly known beyond the great basin of the Ganges.

We shall now proceed to a brief consideration of the remaining group, of which the species are peculiar to the Western world.

III. The Alligators, (genus *Alligator*.†) In these, the muzzle is broader, and more obtuse, than in the true crocodiles; and the fourth pair of teeth of the lower jaw are received into perforations of the upper one. The hind-legs are without dentation,

* *Phil. Trans.* Vol. xlix. p. 369. tab. 19.

† The term alligator is probably derived from a corruption of the Portuguese name of the lizard, *el lagarto*,—the great American reptile to which it was applied presenting a gigantic resemblance to that more agile creature. The Portuguese title is, no doubt, itself drawn directly from the Latin *lacerta*. The appellation of *cayman*, though now bestowed upon species of the New World, is of African origin,—being used by the negroes of the coast of Guinea.

and the feet are only half-webbed. The species are peculiar to America.

The North American alligator (*A. lucius*, Cuvier) may certainly be regarded as one of the most singular inhabitants of the United States. 'Cette espèce' say MM. Dumeril and Bibron, 'appartient en propre à l'Amerique Septentrionale, qu'elle semble habiter dans toute son étendue.' We are not ourselves acquainted with the precise extent of its geographical distribution, but we know that the preceding statement is erroneous. It certainly ascends the Mississippi as far as $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees,—a higher latitude than that now attained to by any species of the ancient world.* But it is equally certain that it is confined to the Southern States. 'Though the largest and greatest number of 'alligators,' says Catesby, 'inhabit the torrid zone, the continent 'abounds with them ten degrees more north, particularly as far as 'the river Neus in North Carolina, in the latitude of about 33° , beyond which I have never heard of any.' It usually inhabits rivers, lakes, and marshes; but leaves those moist abodes as soon as the cool autumnal air gives notice of the approach of frosty weather, and burrows in the earth, or beneath the roots of trees. In this lethargic state it may be almost cut to pieces without manifesting any sign of suffering. But during its more excitable summer life, it makes good use of all its natural endowments, and more especially of its jaws and tail. The ponderous flapping of the latter, while the creature is engaged in catching fish, may be heard at the distance of half a mile. It abounds in Louisiana, and often preys upon pigs at night. When surprised at some distance from water, it immediately squats as flat as possible,

* The distribution of the Egyptian species seems to have become restricted in modern times. Although the Deltaic portions of the Nile extend as far north nearly as $31\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, yet we are not aware that crocodiles are now met near its mouth. During Mr Legh's upward journey, they were first seen between Cafr Saide and Diospolis Parva, the modern How. The traveller just named is of opinion that Girgeh now forms their lower limit; and they appeared to him to be most numerous between that place and the cataracts. (*Narrative of a Journey in Egypt and the Country beyond the Cataracts.*) According to Niebhur, the natives attribute the absence of these reptiles from the lower portions of the river, to the talismanic influence of the *mikkias* or Nilotometer at Cairo, but that author himself ascribes it to culture and population. We do not know whether crocodiles in any part of Africa are now subject to a winter sleep. Their lethargic state in Egypt, during the four colder months of the year, during which they took no food, is anciently attested by Herodotus.

places its nose upon the ground, and stares around with a rolling motion of the eyes. If closely approached, it neither retreats nor attacks, but merely raises its body for an instant from the ground, swells its already gigantic form, and utters a dull blowing sound resembling that of a blacksmith's bellows. But during the pairing season in Spring, the males become extremely fierce, and in that excited state it would be dangerous to approach them. At this time, they fight violently with each other, and make a noise like the bellowing of bulls. The female forms a kind of nest about the 1st of June, selecting some screened thicket of brake or bramble, where she collects leaves, twigs, and other rubbish of various kinds, carrying these materials in her mouth. Ere long she lays about ten eggs, which she covers with mud and leaves; and then, recommencing her building operations, she deposits another layer, and so on alternately till she has laid about five dozen. These eggs are longer than those of a goose; and the whole are matted as it were together by means of tangled grass. The mother watches warily near the spot, and those who desire to discover her hid treasure have not far to seek, as a conspicuous path usually conducts them towards it from the water side, occasioned by the trailing of the body of the parent, who goes and returns by the same route. But she is at this time very ferocious, and her jaws being worse than any steel trap, the curious enquirer should 'beware.' It is not the heat of the sun which hatches these eggs, but that of the nest itself, which becomes a kind of hot-bed from its peculiar mode of formation. As soon as the young have burst the parchment-like, somewhat transparent, covering which represents the shell, they work their way through their putrescent dwelling, and then the female conducts them for greater security to some detached bayou; for now the old Saturnian fathers are 'ready to smite once, and smite no more.*' This *Alligator lucius* is the only species found in the United States.

The most noted of the South American kinds is the spectacled alligator—(*A. sclerops*, Cuvier.) It is well known in Guiana

* When Saturn, deceived by Rhea, swallowed large stones instead of his own fine children, he would seem to have performed another feat which crocodiles are likewise in the habit of imitating. Numerous stones are found in the stomach of these reptiles. Some suppose that they swallow them of intent, as poultry do gravel, for the mechanical purposes of trituration, while others regard them as internal concretions. An alligator seventeen feet long, shot by Bolivar, the Colombian general, was found to have within it a stony mass weighing upwards of sixty pounds.

and Brazil, and extends over a considerable range of country, occurring in rivers, lagoons, and marshes, as far south as 32°. It attains to a great size, and some have been seen in Surinam upwards of twenty feet in length. It is the *Yacaré* of Azara, the Spanish naturalist, and we believe that it was upon the back of a spectacled alligator that Mr Waterton 'witched the world.'* It feeds on fishes and wild-fowl, which it swallows entire, that is, without any further laceration than is necessary to secure the capture. It dwells during the night in water, and enjoys the warmth of sunshine by dozing on the sand throughout the day. It rarely attacks the human race, unless its eggs are intermeddled with; and then it will defend them with pertinacious courage. According to the generality of authors, it deposits its eggs in the sand, covering them with leaves, the hatching being accomplished by the heat of the sun; but Spix has more recently informed us that it prefers a wooded situation, for the sake of secrecy and shelter, and that it watches close at hand, by the bank of lake or river. Its habits in these respects may probably be in some measure guided by circumstances; although the covering of foliage, which is said to be characteristic in both cases, will of course be more easily obtained amid 'leafy umbrage' than the desert sands. Besides the preceding species, three other kinds occur in South America, viz. *A. palpebrosus*, *cynocephalus*, and *punctulatus*. Our present limits will not admit of any further notice than their names.

We have already briefly alluded to the hybernation, or winter lethargy, of the northern species. A more singular circumstance is the *summer* sleep of some of the South American species. They fall into the lethargic state during the prevalence of dry and sultry weather. 'We were shown,' says Humboldt, 'a hut or rather a kind of shed, in which our host of Calabozo, Don Miguel Cousin, had witnessed a very extraordinary scene. Sleeping with one of his friends on a bench covered with leather, Don Miguel was awakened early in the morning by violent shakes, and a horrible noise; clods of earth were thrown into the middle of the hut. Presently a crocodile issued from under the bed, darted at a dog that lay on the threshold of the door, and missing him in the impetuosity of his spring, ran towards the beach to attain the river. On examining the spot where the bacon, or bedstead, was placed, the cause of this strange adventure was easily discovered. The ground was disturbed to a considerable depth. It was dried mud, that had covered the crocodile

* See *Wanderings in South America*. 3d Edition, p. 242.

‘ in that state of lethargy, or summer sleep, in which many of the
‘ species lie, during the absence of the rains, amid the Llanos. The
‘ noise of men and horses, perhaps the smell of the dogs, had awak-
‘ ened it.’* During the periodical swelling of the Apuré, the
horses which have wandered into the savannahs, and cannot reach
the rising grounds, perish by thousands. The mares are often
seen, followed by their colts, swimming about, and feeding on the
tall grasses, of which the tops alone are waving on the surface.
Such as escape are frequently found to bear the impressions of
the monsters’ jaws upon their thighs. Humboldt was informed
at San Fernando, that scarcely a season passes without several
human beings, especially women, being dragged into the water
and drowned by these carnivorous reptiles. But the gouging
system is as well known in the New world as by the banks of the
Gambia. ‘ They related to us the history of a young girl of
‘ Uritucu, who, by singular intrepidity and presence of mind,
‘ saved herself from the jaws of a crocodile. When she felt her-
‘ self seized, she sought the eyes of the animal, and plunged her
‘ fingers into them with such violence, that the pain forced the
‘ crocodile to let her loose, after having bitten off the lower part of
‘ her left arm. The girl, notwithstanding the enormous quantity
‘ of blood she lost, happily reached the shore, swimming with the
‘ hand which remained. In those desert countries, where man
‘ is ever wrestling with nature, discourse turns daily on the means
‘ that may be employed to escape from a jaguar, a boa, or a cro-
‘ codile, and every one prepares himself in some sort for the dan-
‘ gers that await him. “ I knew,” said the young girl of Uri-
‘ tucu coolly, “ that the cayman lets go his hold if you push your
‘ fingers into his eyes.”’ † So much for crocodiles.

The next family group which we have to consider, is one of
the most remarkable, not only of the *Saurian* order, but within the
entire range of the animal kingdom,—we mean the *Chamæleonidæ*.

Chameleons differ in many respects from most other reptiles.
Their external coating is without scales, but is finely chagrined,
or granulated, over the general surface, with numerous small
tubercular points, projecting here and there in a certain system-
atic order. Their limbs are proportionally longer than those of
any other tribe of reptiles, and the five toes with which each foot
is furnished, are divided, somewhat after the manner of a parrot’s
claws, into two opposing groups, for the sake of grasping. This
character occurs in no other genus of the class. The head is
rather bulky, and from the extreme shortness of the neck, appears

* *Personal Narrative*, &c. Vol. IV, p. 380.

† *Ibid.* p. 223.

to rest upon the shoulders. It is usually surmounted by a crest. There is no appearance of external ear. The tail is prehensile, or furnished with the power of grasping the twigs of trees or other slender bodies; thus rendering an arborial station all the more secure. Their gait, however, is extremely slow and guarded, each successive step being taken with an air of the most deliberate gravity and circumspection. If the right fore-foot is lifted first, it is held for a time irresolutely suspended before being advanced to its new position. When firmly clasped, the left hind-foot is very leisurely brought forward. Then, the left fore-foot ventures on a move, and is finally followed, after a proper interval, by the remaining hind one;—‘E tutto fanno’ says Vallisnieri, ‘con sì sgraziata e ridicole svenevolezza, che allora pajano i più stolidi e più gossi animali del mondo.’*

The structure of the eye in the chameleon presents some peculiarities worthy of observation. Its larger portion projects beyond the orbits, which are very wide, and its greatest diameter is from without inwards. It is almost entirely covered by a single circular lid, which is itself a continuation of the skin of the cranium; but there is a small central perforation in front of the pupil, possessed of the power of contraction and dilatation, by means of certain muscles which can even alter its form, from a nearly circular opening to one of a tranverse or sometimes vertical character. To make amends, moreover, for what might otherwise prove a restriction of the field of vision, each eye possesses a moving power independent of the other; so that when the left is intent upon an insect on a leafy spray above, the right may take an equally steady cognisance of another on a branch below. The protecting lid is attached to the circumference of the sclerotic coat by a sphincter muscle; and obeys both the general and particular movements of the eye itself; which is furnished with six muscles, four direct, and two oblique or rotatory. The globe of the eye is constructed nearly as in other reptiles, but it is furnished with a nictitating membrane, and a strong lachrymal gland. Both Perrault and Vrolick have observed, that the optic nerves cross each other; and the latter has remarked, moreover, that at the place of decussation the one even seems to perforate the other.† This is a curious fact in physiology, when viewed in relation to the peculiar power possessed by the chameleon, of voluntarily directing its two eyes in entirely different directions.‡

* *Istoria del Cameleonte Africana.*

† This peculiar structure was indicated by Soemmering in a letter to Baron Larrey in the year 1806.

‡ *Erpétologie Générale.* T. iii. p. 23.

But the most singularly constructed organ in these creatures is undoubtedly the tongue. It forms, when within the mouth, a thick and fleshy tubercle; but is composed in reality of a long cylindrical hollow tube, which the animal possesses the power of darting with unerring aim, and the rapidity almost of a flash of light, upon any vagrant insect which comes within its reach. It is covered by a glutinous secretion, of so strongly viscous a nature as instantaneously to deprive all small-sized insects of the power of motion. In its extended condition it is not unlike a large earthworm, and its length is fully as great as that of the trunk of the animal's own body. It may be regarded rather as an organ of prehension than of taste, and seems to afford the sole means by which the creature secures its natural prey. The double movement of ejection and retraction, by which its functions are performed, is executed with such marvellous rapidity, that almost all that we can detect of the process is the disappearance of a fly. Bellini describes its action with enthusiasm, as the most wonderful thing which can be conceived:—‘*Pare un fulmine la sua lunghissima lingua, lanciata velocemente alla preda.*’ Yet not the slightest muscular action is perceptible in any other part of the body, all of which remains as still and motionless as if it were a cast in bronze. The anatomical structure of this curious tongue, and the apparatus of its motive powers, have been clearly, and we doubt not accurately, described by Perrault; * at a later period by M. Duvernoy; † and still more recently and completely by Mr Houston. ‡ The observer last named is of opinion that the projectile motion is effected partly by the advancement of the *os hyoides*, but chiefly by the blood rushing suddenly into the numberless vessels of the organ itself, and thus distending and elongating its erectile portion. The chief objection which may be urged against this theory is, the difficulty of conceiving how vascular congestion can effect the elongation with the extreme rapidity ascribed. However, we know of no other explanation nearly so satisfactory, and the swift action of the tongue may be in some measure exaggerated. In our own comparatively cold and cloudy clime, the movement occupies five or six seconds, and can be quite distinctly followed by the eye. The changes of colour are also much slower and less vivid than in the warmer regions of the south. We may add, that the erectile power of the tongue is exercised not only in capturing its natural prey,

* *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences.* T. iii. p. 35.

† *Compte Rendu.* Nos. 10 et 14, p. 187 et 349.

‡ *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.* Vol. xv. p. 177.

but also from time to time in lapping, as it were, a glittering drop of water from any pendant leaf or spray. Its entire action presents, in its almost unexampled rapidity, a singular and striking contrast to all the other movements of the animal, which are peculiarly sluggish and inert.

The habits of the chameleon are entirely insectivorous, and its disposition is otherwise mild and inoffensive. This, at least, is the character assigned to it, by eyewitnesses, in modern times; although it differs considerably from that given in an old work by Edward Topsel, entitled a *History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents*, compiled chiefly from the writings of Conrad Gesner, and published in 1658. Being desirous to have our own favourable impressions of the creature's character confirmed, by older writers of more experience than ourselves, we turned to the volume in question, and found as follows:—'A chameleon is a 'fraudulent, ravening, and gluttonous beast, impure, and unclean 'by the law of God, and forbidden to be eaten; in his own nature wild, yet counterfeiting meeknesse when he is in the custody of man.'—(P. 676.) It seems, however, that if his life is worse than worthless, he may be turned to essential service after death. 'If a chameleon be sod in an earthen pot, and consumed 'till the water be as thick as oyl, then, after such seething, take 'the bones out, and put them in a place where the sun never 'cometh; then, if ye see a man in the fit of the falling-sicknesse, 'turn him upon his belly, and anoint his back from the *os sacrum* 'to the ridge-bone, and it will presently deliver him from the fit; 'but after seven times using, it will perfectly cure him.'

The etymology of the term chameleon has occupied the attention of several 'learned Thebans.' The ancient Greek writers bestowed upon it the name of χαμαιλεων, which simply signifies low or humble lion; and the meaning of the word is much more clear than the reason of its application; for we know of no creature which less resembles any lion, either high or low. It may be that the crested or rugose character of the head, suggested to some one, in early times, an idea associated with the shaggy front of the king of the forest. Isidorus indeed prefers tracing it to two Greek substantives, καμηλος and λεων—camel-lion, as it were, by reason of 'the curvature of the spine, the length of the legs, and the conical form of the tail.' But this does not seem to simplify the subject, and the fact of the Latin writers naming it *chamæleo*, favours the former signification. However, its real character is sufficiently curious, independent of any nominal ambiguities.

The most noted peculiarity of this reptile is undoubtedly its change of colour, and the exposition of this feature in its physi-

ology has exercised both the ingenuity and the imagination of many observers. 'The general or usual colour in the chameleon,' says Dr Shaw, 'so far as I have been able to ascertain, from my own observation of such as have been brought into this country in a living state, is from a bluish-ash colour (its natural tinge) to a green and sometimes yellowish colour, spotted unequally with red. If the animal be exposed to a full sunshine, the unilluminated side generally appears, within the space of some minutes, of a pale yellow, with large rounded patches or spots of red-brown. On reversing the situation of the animal, the same change takes place in an opposite direction, the side which was before in the shade now becoming either brown or ash colour, while the other side becomes yellow and red; but these changes are subject to much variety, both as to intensity of colours and disposition of spots.'* MM. Dumeril and Bibron confirm this statement as to the variable position of the spots:—'Les taches régulières des flancs en particulier ne se produisent pas constamment sur les mêmes points de la peau, quoique les dessins se répètent assez souvent chez le même individu; mais ils ne correspondent pas tout-à-fait à des endroits semblables, comme on s'en est assuré par des indications ou des repères laissés dans ce but sur la peau de l'animal.'† Dr Spittal never observed the change of colour to depend in any degree upon the hue of the substance on or near which the animal was placed.‡ The usual colours of his specimens during the day were various shades of green, in the form of irregular spots and stripes. When seen by candle-light, the tint seemed of a yellower hue, spotted with brown, the spots becoming paler as the light was removed to a distance. Dr Neill's specimen, kept near Edinburgh, was generally greenish during the day, and of a dingy cream-colour in the night.

Although manifested in a stronger degree by chameleons than by any other known creatures, a change of colour is by no means peculiar to this genus; it being distinctly observable in several other Saurian groups, such as *Draco* and *Anolis*, as well as among frogs and toads, and even in many fishes. The change is gradual and transitionary, rather than marked or sudden. Authors of all ages have differed regarding its causes, whether remote or immediate. It has certainly nothing to do with the colour of objects placed in juxtaposition, as Pliny maintains;

* *General Zoology*. Vol. iii. p. 256.

† *Erpétologie Générale*. T. iii. p. 171.

‡ *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*. Vol. vi. p. 292.

nor with the reflection of the sun's rays, as Solinus supposes; but bears a more complex relationship to various circumstances—such as the intensity of light to which the individual is exposed, and the state of its feelings in respect to tranquillity or disquietude. The direct or more immediate cause, however, physiologically considered, seems to be the action of the lungs (which are large, dilatable, and prolonged) upon the circulating system; and the phenomenon itself is always most remarkable among those reptiles in which, the general cutaneous covering not adhering closely or uniformly to the muscular layer beneath, a large portion of air is distributed below the skin. There is therefore much truth in the view maintained by Aristotle, and some other ancient authors, that this change of colour occurs only when the animal is in a state of inflation. 'En effet,' says Cuvier, 'leur poumon les rend plus ou moins transparents, contraint plus ou moins le sang à refluer vers la peau, colore même ce fluide plus ou moins vivement, selon qu'il se remplit ou se vide d'air.'* According to Mr Houston, the skin is not only very thin, but highly vascular; and he thinks that the colour of the blood appearing through that semi-transparent covering, and variously modified by its more permanent hues, is of itself sufficient to account for every diversity of tint which the chameleon can assume. He maintains the opinion that these effects are produced by vascular turgescence, 'just as the increased redness in blushing is caused by 'a rush of blood to the cheeks.'

Olaus Wormius ('*Museum*,' 1655) seems to have been among the first to maintain that the alteration of colour was regulated by internal feelings; and Kircher (1678) supports a corresponding theory of emotion and volition. The majority of modern authors, however, seek to explain the fact in question somewhat variously,—by the modifying action of a peculiar respiratory system,—by that action in union with the state of the pulmonary circulation,—or by the variable functions of the different layers of which the *pigmentum* is presumed to be composed. It may be that the very multiplicity of these explanations ought to be regarded as a proof that something is yet wanting to complete our knowledge of the subject. We agree, however, with Mr Houston, that the proximate cause is closely connected with the circulating system.

In connexion with the preceding portion of our enquiries, we must briefly advert to the extraordinary construction of the organs of respiration in these animals. The lungs are double,

* *Règne Animal*. T. ii. p. 59.

symmetrically formed, and, when empty, present the appearance of two small fleshy masses beneath the heart; but, when filled with air, they become so inflated as to cover the whole intestines, and even exceed in size the ordinary dimensions of the entire cavity of the abdomen. The pulmonary cells in general are very large, but their mass is lobate, or divided on either side into seven or eight appendages, with pointed terminations. Of these slender portions, which are themselves excessively prolonged, some penetrate the numerous cells which as it were divide the abdomen into regular compartments, thus forming reservoirs of air; while others stretch between the muscles and beneath the skin, which is itself so free as to envelope the body rather in a loose sack than in the fixed form of a cutaneous covering. Thus the lungs in the chameleon may be regarded as proportionally larger and more prolonged than those of any other vertebrated animal. But besides this unexampled extension, a singular supplementary organ was long ago discovered by Vallisnieri. This is a loose membranous sack or vesicule, somewhat in the form of a goitre, which is placed in a cavity beneath the base of the hyoid bone, and is capable of being filled with air, or emptied, at the creature's pleasure. It may be likened to the air-vessel of fishes, just as the glottis and trachea greatly resemble those of birds. It is in these remarkable peculiarities, according to MM. Dumeril and Bibron, that we ought to seek the explanation of several of the most singular circumstances in the life and actions of the chameleon,—such as its power of continuing for many hours in an inflated state, during which not the slightest respiratory movement is perceptible, the frequent changes in the form and bulk of body to which it is subject, as well as the rapid motion of the tongue, and even the superficial change of colour.

Zoologists are by no means well instructed regarding the general habits of the chameleon in the natural state; at least, we are not ourselves aware that much additional knowledge has been gained regarding them since the days of Cestoni—an apothecary of Leghorn, who corresponded largely on these subjects with Vallisnieri; as we find in the works of the latter, published in 1696. The sexes do not habitually consort together, but seek each other's society only for a brief period. The female deposits about thirty eggs in a hole of a few inches deep, which she excavates in the earth with her hind-feet.* She then covers them with the loose

* 'Servendosi,' says the Italian author, 'a questo lavoro delle sole zampe di dietro,'—an expression strangely and most inaccurately trans-

earth, and an additional coating of slender twigs and leaves. The eggs are of a rounded form, and greyish white in colour. Their shell is calcareous, and of a porous texture, which admits the influence of the atmospheric air during the development of the included young.

We shall terminate our account of the chameleon by a note in illustration of the geographical distribution of the genus.* There are no less than fourteen different kinds. Africa may be said to be their characteristic country; as it appears from an analysis of the subjoined note, that naturalists know of none which is not found in some quarter of that continent, or in one or other of the great adjacent islands, although three of the species likewise occur elsewhere. Of those last alluded to as not being exclusively African, one is found in Spain and the East Indies, another in Georgia, and a third in New Holland, and other southern lands. The Spanish species is said by M. Bory de St Vincent to be not uncommon around the Bay of Cadiz, and is sometimes seen in dwelling-houses suspended from the ceiling as an object

lated by the authors of the *Erpétologie Générale*,—‘en se servant uniquement de la patte antérieure droite,’—as if the creature, instead of using both her hind-legs, had recourse merely to the right fore-paw.

* 1. *Chamæleo vulgaris* or *Africanus*. This is the earliest described, and best known species. It occurs all along the southern shores of the Mediterranean from Egypt to the Straits, and is the only species found in Europe. It is not uncommon in the southern parts of Spain, but has not been observed in South Africa, nor in Senegal, or other western regions. The inaccurate Seba represents it under the euphonious name of *Chamæleo Mexicanus seu cuapapalcatl*. We need scarcely observe that none of the genus has ever been found in the New World. A peculiar variety, though not a distinct kind, occurs in India. 2. *C. verrucosus*. Madagascar. 3. *C. Tigris*. Seychelle Islands. 4. *C. nasutus*. This, the smallest of the species, occurs in Madagascar. 5. *C. pumilus*. Cape of Good Hope, and Seychelle Islands. 6. *C. lateralis*. Madagascar and the Mauritius. 7. *C. Senegalensis*. From Senegal. This species is represented by Shaw under the name of common chameleon. His figure seems copied from a plate in Miller's *Cymelia Physica*. 8. *C. dilepis*. The distribution of this species must be very extensive, if, as is alleged, the specimens sent to Paris from Tiflis, are identical in kind with those captured by Mr Bowdich on the coast of Guinea. 9. *C. cucullatus*. Madagascar. 10. *C. tricornis*. Island of Fernando Po. 11. *C. pardalis*; and 12. *C. Parsonii*. Madagascar and the Isle of France. 13. *C. bifidus*. Of this species the geographical distribution is singularly extensive. It is said to occur in the Moluccas, the Isles of Sunda, Bourbon, Continental India, and New Holland. 14. *C. Brookesii*, Madagascar.

of curiosity. These domestic specimens are often killed by cats, of which they seem a favourite food.*

We must now conclude the present article, although the multifarious groups of lizards, guanos, geckos, flying dragons, and many more besides, are still unnoticed. The history of serpents and *batrachian* reptiles must form the subject of a future essay. Few departments of zoology are of deeper interest, or more curious import, than that with which we have here been partially engaged; and there is none more likely to reward an assiduous cultivation of its fields, especially in foreign regions, by rendering an abundant harvest of discovery. Much is already known to naturalists, but far more remains to be ascertained, regarding the haunts and habits of many extraordinary creatures, of which we are as yet scarcely acquainted even with the external form.

* A point of interest in the geographical distribution of the chameleon relates to its occurrence in Sicily. We were not aware of its being an inhabitant of that island; as the fact is not mentioned in any work which we have seen. But a German naturalist, of the name of Grohman, has recently published a *Nuova descrizione del Cameleonte Siciliano*, and we infer from the title that he at least believes it to inhabit the island. We have not yet received the work, and so cannot say whether the author states the fact from personal observation, or merely inferentially, from collections transmitted to his care. If in the latter case, we conceive his specimens were probably from the coast of Algiers, and were accidentally intermingled with the insular products. We are confirmed in this view by the opinion of M. Bilron, who resided for a length of time in Sicily, exclusively with a view to the study of its reptile tribes, and would scarcely have allowed the most curious creature in Europe to escape his notice. 'Nous avouons,' he informs us, 'ne l'y avoir pas trouvée, malgré les recherches que nous fîmes dans ce pays pendant dix-huit mois, ni même avoir entendu dire qu'elle y existait par aucune des personnes auxquelles nous nous en sommes informés.' We have, moreover, applied for information on the subject to another distinguished naturalist, a native of Geneva, now in this country, and his answer is as follows—'With respect to your enquiry, I should be inclined to believe that the chameleon is not found in Sicily, not only because I have never seen or heard of that reptile in the island, but because Dr Otto of Breslau, with whom I collected during many weeks at Messina, and who attended particularly to reptiles, never alluded to its being found in Sicily, although he put me in the way of finding many other genera of reptiles at Catania, Syracuse, Segeste, &c.; and I think that the very intelligent men I employed in collecting for me, would have mentioned so singular an animal. I have besides seen all the native naturalists of the country, and from none of them have I ever heard of the chameleon.'

How many live in caves and dens of the earth, in lone savannahs, and in wooded wildernesses, on which the eye of man has never rested ! True it may be, as Solomon says, that of 'making many 'books there is no end ;' but the accurate observance of the works of nature is calculated to furnish an inexhaustible stock of materials for books unhacknied in subject, and unfading in interest ; and which may be perused without that 'weariness of the 'flesh' that made the Wise Man deprecate the too great multiplication of the instruments of study.

The work named at the head of this article contains the most ample and precise descriptions of the Reptile race which have appeared in recent times, and will form, when completed, a series of volumes indispensable to the library of the Naturalist.

ART. IV.—*On the Nature of Thunderstorms, and on the Means of Protecting Buildings and Shipping against the Destructive Effects of Lightning.* By W. SNOW HARRIS, F.R.S. 8vo. London : 1843.

WHEN, in a day calm and serene, we look upwards to and around the region of the sky, the eye encounters no obstacle in its survey, and freely penetrates the depths of space to the remotest limits of its range. No terrestrial element dims the transparency of the pure ether,—no veil hides the face of the God of Day ; and the tremulous ray of the minutest and most distant star finds an easy path across the unfathomable void. The blue vault which enwraps us alone indicates the diffusion of attenuated matter ; but its cool and spotless azure, like the breast of the dove, embosoms only innocence and peace. Even the sounds of the material and the busy world are thrown back in subdued murmurs from the sky ; and in this general repose of nature, and throughout 'the abyss where sparkle distant worlds,' the sharpest scrutiny can descry no element of change or of mischief. While the verdant earth, indeed, remains firm beneath his feet, man anticipates no descending danger, and the upturned eye looks but for blessings from above.

This pure and peaceful character of the firmament we contemplate, is but the normal condition which marks the rest and equilibrium of the elements. Unseen and unfelt there encompasses our globe a girdle of air, as translucent as empty space, and so thin and impalpable, that we neither feel its pressure nor experience its resistance. Even when we inhale it, and live by

its inhalation, we are not sensible that we have drawn into our system any thing that is material. Yet is this invisible, and almost intangible element, instinct with mysterious properties, and charged with superhuman powers. The green and fermenting earth projects into it its noxious exhalations; the decaying structures of organic life let loose their poisonous ingredients; and even living beings, while appropriating its finer elements, ungratefully return the adulterated residue into the ethereal granary. Thus does the pabulum of life become a polluted and deleterious compound. The noble organizations of living nature languish under its perilous inspiration; while disease and pestilence either decimate the people, or pursue their epidemic round, demanding at every stage their hecatomb of victims.

When the earth, revolving round its axis, has received from the sun its daily measure of light and of heat, different zones on its surface, and different portions of its mass—the aqueous expanse, the sandy desert, the rankly luxuriant jungle, the rocky mountain crest—all give out their hoarded caloric in unequal and commingling streams. The homogeneity and equilibrium of the elastic medium is thus speedily destroyed; the cold and dense air rushes into the more heated and rarefied regions; and the whole atmosphere around us becomes agitated with coinciding or conflicting currents. Here the zephyr breathes its softest murmurs, awakening the Eolian lyre to its most plaintive strains, and scarcely turning the twittering aspen leaf on its stalk; there the gale sweeps along, howling amidst the darkened forests, bending the majestic pines in its path, and hurrying the freighted bark to its port; and yonder the tornado cuts its way through the mightiest forests, making sport of the dwellings and strongholds of man, and dashing to the bottom of the deep the proudest of his floating bulwarks.

But while the heated air thus sweeps, in gale or in tempest, over the waters of the ocean, or rests in peace on its glassy breast, it carries upwards, by its ascending currents, the aqueous vapours it has exhaled. The denser element reflects in all directions the light that falls upon it, and diffused in mists, or accumulated in clouds, the atmosphere teems with opaque masses, which conceal the azure vault, and obstruct even the fiercest rays of a meridian sun. Here they float in majestic dignity, the ærial leviathans of the sky, veiling and unveiling the luminary which gave them birth. There they marshal their rounded fleeces, or arrange their woolly ringlets, or extend their tapering locks—now shining like the new-fallen snow—now flushed with the red of the setting sun; but ever in pleasing harmony with the blue expanse which they adorn, and the purple landscape which they crown.

Over this lovely portrait of ærial nature, the curtain of night falls—and rises but to exhibit scenes of varied terror and desolation. While the solar heat is converting into vapour the water and moisture of the earth, electricity is freely disengaged during the process. The clouds which this vapour forms exhibit different electrical conditions, though the electricity of the atmosphere, when serene, is invariably the same. Hence the descent of clouds towards the earth, their mutual approach, the force of atmospheric currents, and the ever-varying agencies of heat and cold, convert the ærial envelope of our globe into a complex electrical apparatus, spontaneously exhibiting, in a variety of forms, the play and the conflict of its antagonist powers. As St Elmo's fire, the slightly liberated electricity tips the yard-arms and mast-tops of ships with its brilliant star, its ball of fire, or its lambent flame. At the close of a sultry day, and above level plains, the opposite electricities of the earth and the air effect their reunion in noiseless flashes of lightning,—illuminating as it were, in far-spread sheets, the whole circuit of the horizon, and the entire canopy of its clouds. At other times the same elements light up the Arctic constellations with their restless wild-fires—now diffusing their phosphoric flame, and flitting around in fitful gleams, as if keeping time to the music of the spheres—and now shooting up their auroral columns, advancing, retreating, and contending, as if in mimicry of mortal strife.

But these various displays of the power of electricity, however much they may startle ignorance and alarm superstition, are always unattended with danger; and form a striking contrast with the full development of its unbridled and unbalanced fury. When, after a long drought, the moisture of an overloaded atmosphere is accumulated in massive clouds, animated by opposite electricities and driven by antagonist currents, the reunited elements compress, as it were, in their fiery embrace their tenements of sponge;—and cataracts of rain, and showers of hail, and volleys of stony meteors are thrown down upon the earth, desolating its valleys with floods, and crushing its vegetation by their fall. Even in our temperate zone, but especially under the raging heats of a tropical sun, this ferment and explosion of the elements is more terrific still. As if launched from an omnipotent arm, the red lightning-bolt cuts its way to the earth, now transfixing man and beast in its course; now rending the smitten oak with its wedges of livid fire; now shivering or consuming the storm-tossed vessel; now shattering cloud-capt towers and gorgeous dwellings—nor even sparing the holy sanctuary, the hallowed dome, or the consecrated spire. And no sooner has the bolt crushed its victim, and the forked messenger secured his prey, than the peals of its rattling artillery rebound from cloud to

cloud, and from hill to hill, as if the God of Nature were pronouncing the perdition of ungodly men, and as if the Heavens, 'waxed old as a garment,' were about to be wrapped up in the fervent heat of the elements. During this rehearsal of the day which is to come 'as a thief in the night,' heaven seems to be in fierce conflict with earth—man the sufferer—and God the avenger. The warrior turns pale;—the priest stands appalled at his altar;—the prince trembles on his throne. Even dumb life, sharing the perils of its tyrant, is stricken with fear. The war-horse shakes under his rider;—the eagle cowers in his cleft of rock;—the sea-bird screams in its flight, and universal life travails with one common dread of the giant arm which thus wields the omnipotence of the elements.

That phenomena such as these, so destructive of life and property, should have been imperfectly studied and described by the ancients, cannot fail to surprise us; but our surprise becomes somewhat abated, when we consider how little has been done in modern times, after electricity became a science, either in studying its destructive agencies, or in providing against their aggressions. The carelessness of individuals in protecting their property against lightning has doubtless arisen, in many cases, from a distrust in the resources of science; but it may have originated also in a suspicion, that some unwise minister might tax this species of protection as an insurance against fire; or, perchance, punish it as an insidious invasion of the window duty, through a light borrowed from above.* But however plausibly we may account for the scepticism and improvidence of individuals, we cannot make the same apology for the ignorance and negligence of public men, entrusted with the property and wielding the powers of the state. If we must not expect to have, like the Romans, our *Ædiles plebeii minores*, and still less their *Ædiles cereales*,† to keep the poor from starvation, why should we be deprived of *Ædiles majores*, who, in their curule-chairs on chariots, might look after our palaces, our temples, and our public monuments? Rather than that the obelisks of our heroes and sages should be dislocated or thrown

* A hundred years hence, it will, perhaps, be scarcely believed, that a government existed in the *nineteenth* century which prevented, by taxation, the light of heaven from entering our dwellings, and the free air from ventilating and cleansing them; and which also prohibited by impost the possessors of property from insuring it against destruction by fire!

† *Hibernice*, 'keepers of corn in bond.'

down, and our towers and spires shivered by the thunderbolt, we would tolerate any Edile from the Treasury or the Home-office, any Verres, even though he might insist upon forcing into the perpendicular the elegantly sloping columns of the Temple of Vesta,* or effecting an equitable adjustment, *à plomb*, of the pillars and buttresses of the state.

After Britain had become a great naval power, covering the ocean with her ships of commerce and of war, we might have expected some energetic measures for protecting the adventurous mariner and his far-floated cargo, when fire and tempest simultaneously assailed them;—but when great interests on shore were committed to inefficient hands, it was scarcely to be expected that great interests at sea would be better managed. If boards of longitude consisted of rear-admirals who had forgotten their Lunars, and politicians who had visited only one side of the Asses' Bridge;—if fishery boards consisted of notables who ate fish, but could not catch them;—if trustees for manufactures had no knowledge of what was entrusted to them;—and if light-house boards were composed of lawyers and burgh bailies, who could hardly choose a pair of spectacles—we need not wonder that the hapless seaman was allowed to perish at his mast-foot, and our 'hearts of oak' to be rent by the lightning, or consumed by its fires.

Under such circumstances, we ought to congratulate the public on the appearance of Mr Harris's work; or rather, perhaps, on Mr Harris's success in compelling a reluctant government to take up the subject, as a national question demanding national encouragement and support. As in all other great improvements, some previous steps had been taken for the protection of ships and buildings, and officers of scientific acquirements had pointed out the necessity of a more perfect system of protection. Even the ancients themselves, who had no knowledge of electricity, seem to have exercised some ingenuity in warding off the thunderbolt; and, though it may not be admitted by those who are accustomed to underrate their scientific achievements, we are persuaded that they not only used metallic conductors, but employed in some of their temples a more efficacious system of protection than we ourselves have yet introduced.

It is not very creditable to the scientific literature of our own country, that so little has been done in collecting and examining the notices and opinions of the ancients respecting the more

* CICERO, *Orat. in Verrem*. Act II. cap. li. See also this Journal, Vol. LXXVIII. p. 321, note.

remarkable phenomena of the atmosphere. Dr Watson, indeed, has gathered from Pliny, Seneca, Cæsar, and Livy, several passages descriptive of the electrical light which often tipped the masts of vessels, and the spears and lances of soldiers; but nothing worthy of notice has been gleaned respecting the destructive effects of thunderstorms, and the precautions which were taken for the protection of life and property.

In his commentaries on Virgil's sixth Eclogue, Servius,* a writer in the time of the younger Theodosius, observes that Prometheus *discovered*, and revealed to men the method of bringing down lightning from above, and that it was from this that he was said to have stolen fire from heaven. Among the possessors of the art he enumerates Numa, who had used it with impunity because he had employed it only in the service of the Gods; and Tullus Hostilius, who, in consequence of having made an improper use of it, was struck dead with lightning, and all his property destroyed. The mythological history of Numa, as given by Ovid in his *Fasti*, has some analogy with the theft of fire by Prometheus. Aided by Mercury, Prometheus is said to have stolen fire from the chariot of the sun; but, what is more interesting, the theft was effected by *bringing down the celestial fire at the end of a ferula or rod*. In like manner, Numa, prompted by his wife, the goddess Egeria, succeeded in obtaining the same prize; by a species of robbery perpetrated on the sylvan deities Faunus and Martius Picus. Having placed in their way cups of perfumed wine, the thoughtless Gods partook too freely of the beverage, and, when in a state of inebriety, were bound hand and foot by the Roman king. While struggling in vain to free themselves from their chains, Numa apologises for the liberty he has taken—tells them he meant to do them no harm, and hints at the condition of their deliverance—

‘Quoque modo possit fulmen monstrate piari.’

To this bold request to know the method of expiating, or bringing down, or carrying off the impending lightning, Faunus gives a favourable answer:—

* ‘Deprehendit præterea rationem fulminum eliciendorum, et hominibus indicavit; unde celestem ignem dicitur esse furatus: nam quandam arte ab eodem monstratâ supernus ignis eliciebatur, qui mortalibus profuit, donec eo bene usi sunt: nam postea malo hominum usu in perniciem eorum versi sunt.’—SERVIUS in *Virgil*, Ecl. vi. line 42. Edit. Burman, tom. i. p. 99.

‘Di sumus agrestes, et qui dominemur in altis
Montibus : arbitrium est in sua tela Jovi.
Hunc tu non poteris per te deducere cœlo :
At poteris nostrâ forsitan usus ope.’

Picus also admits their possession of the *valida ars*, and their willingness to communicate it. The bargain is completed—the secret is conveyed—and a day fixed for putting it in practice. Numa and his attendants assemble in state. The sun’s upper limb had just touched the horizon, when Numa, with his head veiled with a white covering, lifts up his hands and demands the fulfilment of the heavenly promise.

‘Dum loquitur, totum jam Sol emerserat orbem :
Et gravis etherio venit ab axe fragor.
Ter tonuit sine nube Deus, tria fulgura misit.’

The sun threw his light over the whole earth—a tremendous crash was heard through the heavens. In a sky without a cloud, Jupiter sent forth three peals of thunder and three flashes of lightning. The heavens opened, and the sacred shield fell from above.

On the authority of Lucius Piso, an ancient annalist, both Livy and Pliny have given an account of the transmission to Tullus Hostilius of Numa’s secret of bringing down lightning from heaven. Pliny says, that Tullus learned the art from the books of Numa, but having practised it incorrectly (*parum rite*) he was struck with lightning.* Pliny repeats nearly the same words in another place ; but he there states also, on the authority of ancient annals, that *lightning could be forced from heaven by certain sacred rites*, or obtained by prayer ; and he adds, that lightning had been thus *evoked* by Porsenna, king of the Volsci, and before his time repeatedly by Numa.† Livy makes a similar, but a fuller statement.‡

* ‘L. Piso primo annalium auctor est, ‘Tullum Hostilium regem ex Numæ libris eodem, quo illum sacrificio Jovem cœlo devocare conatum, quoniam parum rite quædam fecisset, fulmine ictum.’—PLIN. lib. xxviii. cap. 2.

† Extat annalium memoria, sacris quibusdam, et precationibus, vel *cogi fulmina*, vel impetrari. Vetus fama Etruriæ est, impetratum Volscinios urbem, agris depopulatis subeunte monstro, quod vocavere Voltam. Evocatum et a Porsenna suo rege. Et ante eum a Numa sæpius hoc factitatum, in primo annalium suorum tradit L. Piso, gravis auctor, quod imitatum parum rite Tullum Hostilium ictum fulmine.—PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* lib. ii. cap. 54.

‡ Ipsum regem (Tullum Hostilium) tradunt, volventem commentarios

It is evident, from various passages in ancient authors, that sovereigns who were ambitious of receiving divine honours, attempted to deceive their subjects by pretending to bring down lightning from heaven. According to Ovid and Dionysius Halicarnassus, Romulus, the eleventh king of Alba, invented a method of counterfeiting thunder and lightning. According to Eusebius, he effected this deception by making his soldiers strike their bucklers with their swords. The gods, however, were affronted at this usurpation of their weapons, and Romulus fell by a stroke of lightning.

‘Fulmineo periit imitator fulminis ictu.’

‘He mock’d the lightning,—and by lightning fell.’

Salmones, king of Elis, is said to have imitated thunder by driving his chariot over a bridge of brass, and to have darted burning torches on every side, in imitation of lightning; and, as a punishment of his impiety, Jupiter slew him by a thunderbolt. Eustathius, in his commentaries on the Odyssey, regards Salmones as a philosopher who was killed while carrying on experiments for the purpose of bringing down or imitating lightning; and M. Salverte believes that the king of Elis was actually bringing down lightning from the clouds, and that the process he employed was the *coactive* one referred to by Pliny. According to Dion Cassius and John of Antioch, Caligula employed a machine for imitating thunder and lightning, and for that purpose discharged a stone upwards to the sky during the time of a thunderstorm.

The earliest indication of a method of protecting houses from lightning, is referred to by Columella.* He distinctly states that Tarchon, who was the disciple of the magician Tages, and the founder of the Theurgy of the Etruscans, protected his house by *surrounding it with white vines*.

‘Utque Jovis magni prohiberet fulmina Tarchon,
Sæpe suas sedes percinxit vitibus albis.’

With the same view, the Temple of Apollo was surrounded

Numæ, quum ibi quædam occulta sollemnia sacrificia Jovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum his sacris se abdidisse: sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse: nec solum nullam ei oblatam celestium speciem, sed ira Jovis, sollicitati prava religione, fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasse.—LIV. lib. i. cap. 31.’

* *De Re Rustica*, lib. x.

with laurels,* which were supposed to have the property of keeping off lightning; and in Hindostan, fat or succulent plants were planted round houses, in order to defend them from lightning. M. Salverte† ridicules these methods as inefficacious, and considers them as put forward by their authors, in order to conceal the true method which they possessed of protecting their temples and dwellings from the effects of lightning; but we are disposed to take a different view of the subject. If the trees which surround a house or a temple are sufficiently high, there can be no doubt that they will exercise a protective power not inferior to a regular system of conductors; but even if the temple exceeds them in height, they will operate as so many points or conductors in discharging silently the free electricity of the atmosphere. If a house covered with succulent creepers were struck with lightning, we are persuaded that the electricity would be carried off by the conducting juices of the plant, and would not force its way into the walls of the building.

Pliny informs us, that in consequence of all the high towers between Terracina and the Temple of Feronia having been destroyed by lightning, the inhabitants ceased to build them in times of war. He states also that the lightning never descends into the ground deeper than five feet; and that, on this account, timid persons either seek for shelter in deep caverns, or *cover their houses with the skins of seals*, the only marine animal which the lightning does not strike!‡

Without referring to the practices in Esthonia, of placing two knives upon a window to turn away the lightning—of putting a piece of iron into nests where eggs are hatching; or to a practice in the fifteenth century, of protecting ships by fixing a drawn sword on the mast,—we may adduce the historical fact mentioned by Ktesias, that iron collected in a particular manner, and shaped like a sword or pointed rod, had the property, when stuck in the ground, of turning away clouds, hail, and lightning. Ktesias|| informs us, that he saw the experiment per-

* It is a curious fact that Pliny mentions the *laurel* as the only earthly production which lightning does not strike. 'Ex iis quæ terra gignuntur lauri fruticem non icit.'—PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* lib. ii. cap. 56.

† *Des Sciences Occultes*, tom. ii. p. 151.

‡ Ideo pavidi altiores specus tutissimos putant; aut tabernacula e pelibus belluarum quas vitulos apellant: quoniam hoc solum animal ex marinis non percutiat.—PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* lib. i. cap. 56. See also Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. iii. cap. vi. § 4, ad fin.

|| KTESIAS in Indic. apud Photium, *Bibl. Cod.* lxxii., quoted by Salverte.

formed twice in the presence of the King of Persia. Imperati, a writer of the seventeenth century, states, that 'at the castle of Duino it was an ancient practice, in the time of a storm, to sound the lightning. The sentinel touched with his iron pike a bar of iron raised upon a wall, and when he obtained a spark at the instant of contact, he immediately gave the alarm, and warned the shepherds of their danger.'

Striking as these facts are, we have still more unequivocal evidence that the ancients were acquainted with the use of thunder-rods. M. La Boissiere,* quoted by Salverte, discusses this subject in a learned Memoir, 'on the knowledge of the ancients in the art of evoking and absorbing lightning.' He mentions a medal described by Duchoul,† on which the temple of Juno, the goddess of air, *has its roof armed with pointed rods*; and other medals are referred to by the same author, with the inscription, 'XV. Viri sacris faciundis,' and representing a fish covered with spines, and placed on a globe or on a patera. M. La Boissiere conceives that a fish on a globe armed with points, was the conductor employed by Numa to bring down lightning from the clouds.‡

In a correspondence with M. Lichtenberg, 'on the effect of points placed on the temple of Solomon,' Michaelis§ observes, that during the lapse of a thousand years, the temple of Jerusalem seems never to have been struck by lightning; || that a forest

* *Notice sur les Travaux de L'Académie du Gard*, de 1812-1821. Nismes, 1822.

† *Sur la Religion des Romains*.

‡ M. La Boissiere mentions another medal of doubtful authenticity, described and engraven by Pellerin, which bore the legend, *Jupiter Elicius*. Jupiter held the lightning in his hand, and below was represented a man directing a flying kite!

§ *Magazin Scientifique de Gottingue*, 1783, III. Année; 5 cah., edited by M. Lichtenberg.

|| This statement, of course, does not admit of being proved. M. Arago justly observes, that if we consider how carefully ancient authors recorded the cases in which their public buildings were injured by lightning, it would be difficult to account for the silence of historians on this point, unless by admitting that Solomon's Temple never suffered from lightning.

A case of protection of an analogous nature has been exhibited in the cathedral of Geneva. Although the most elevated in the city, its great central tower has never been damaged by lightning for three hundred years, although the bell-tower of St Gervaise, situated on a much lower level, has been frequently injured. Saussure, in 1771, discovered the

of spikes gilt, or pointed with gold, and very acute, covered the roof of this temple; and that this roof must have communicated with the cisterns and subterraneous excavations in the hill on which the temple stood, by means of metallic water-pipes placed in connexion with the thick gilding, iron spikes, and lead which covered the exterior of the roof. Independently, therefore, of the gilding of the roofs, walls, beams, floors, and doors of every apartment, we have here a system of conductors not only more complete than those on the temple of Juno, but more complete than any system that has been employed in modern times. In his description of the exterior of the temple, Josephus * says that it was every where covered with very heavy plates of gold—*πλαξὶ γὰρ χρυσῇ στιβαραῖς κακαλυμμενός παντοθεν*; and that there rose upon the roof very sharp golden or gilt spikes or rods, to prevent the birds from defiling it—*κατὰ κορυφὴν δὲ χρυσεὺς οβελὸς ἀνέχετο τεθηγμένως, ὥς μὴ τινὶ προσκαθεζομένῳ μολυνεῖτο τῶν ὀρνέων*. In describing the attack made by the priests upon the Romans, after the burning of the temple, Josephus says that they tore up the sharp spikes of the temple, and also their foundations (*τὰς ἰδράς αὐτῶν*), which were made of lead, and threw them as missiles against the enemy; and Reland, in his annotations on the passage, says, that these were the iron spikes (*obelos ferreos*) placed on the roof of the temple to keep off birds.†

It is, we think, impossible to read the preceding details without a strong conviction, that the ancients possessed the secret of bringing down fire from heaven; and were acquainted with the general principles of protecting buildings from lightning, by metallic or other conductors. This knowledge, however, whatever may have been its amount, was possessed only by kings and priests, who never scrupled to wield it in support of despotism and superstition. The secret of the thunder-rod, like that of the other machinery of heathen worship, was completely concealed from the vulgar; and when, after the introduction of Christianity, it had lost its power as an instrument for deceiving the people, it seems also to have lost its value as an instrument for their protection. When the system of religious imposture which consecrated the Pagan temples fell to the ground, many

cause of this. The tower in question, which was built of wood, was entirely covered from its highest point with tinned iron plates, which were connected at the base of the tower with different masses of metal on the roof, and these again communicated with the ground by means of metallic pipes, as in the case of the temple at Jerusalem.

* De Bell. Jud., Lib. V. cap. v. § 6. † Ib., Lib. VI. cap. v. § 1.

of its secrets perished with the priests to whom they had been entrusted; and the few which modern ingenuity has been able to trace during their traditional disappearance, had been either appropriated by the magician, or formed the germ of those unhallowed illusions by which a Christian priesthood sought to sustain and extend its power.

It is a singular fact, that even when electricity had assumed a scientific aspect, and had, to a certain degree, been identified with lightning, the art of protection by conductors was utterly unknown. It was not till Franklin had demonstrated the identity of these two powerful agents, and had actually brought down lightning from the clouds by the conducting string of his electrical kite, that he conceived the idea of applying a thunder-rod to the protection of buildings. It was in the month of June 1752, that he performed that celebrated experiment, by which he became the Prometheus of modern times, and earned a branch of the double laurel with which the democratic poet has crowned him—

‘*Arripuit fulmen cælo—sceptrumque tyrannis.*’

A kite formed with a silk handkerchief, to enable it to bear the wet and violence of a thunderstorm, was raised in the usual manner with a line of twine, which terminated below in a silk ribband, at the junction of which with the twine, a key was suspended. With the non-conducting ribband in his hand, Franklin watched with impatience the approach of his kite to the thunder cloud. At last he saw with delight the loose filaments of the twine rising from it in all directions. His knuckle attracted them, and received a spark when applied to the key. When the conducting power of the string was increased by being wetted with rain, the electricity descended in a copious stream; a Leyden jar was charged at the key, and electrical experiments of various kinds performed with the celestial fire.

While the achievement of Prometheus was thus repeated in the New World, the fate of Tullus Hostilius was about to be suffered in the Old. The fame of Franklin's sublime experiment passed rapidly through Europe, and various philosophers had the courage to repeat it,—some with kites, and some with thunder-rods. In 1753, M. Romas received a severe shock from the string of his kite; and two French philosophers were struck down by the lightning, when they were drawing sparks from their apparatus. In the same year, Professor Richman of St Petersburg erected a metallic rod for the purpose of measuring the strength of the electricity which it might bring down in a thunderstorm. When he was stooping to observe the effect of the electricity thus

obtained, M. Sokolof, his companion, observed a globe of blue fire leap, with a report like that of a pistol, from the iron rod, and strike the head of the Professor, who was then about a foot distant from it. The Professor was instantly killed, and M. Sokolof fell upon the ground stifled and benumbed with a sort of steam or vapour which accompanied the fiery globe. There was a red spot on the forehead of Professor Richman, where the lightning seems to have entered, and a blue mark on the foot, from which it seemed to have made its escape.

No sooner had Franklin performed his experiment, than he applied conductors to the protection of public and private buildings. An apparatus, constructed according to his directions, was placed in the house of Mr West, a merchant in Philadelphia; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that this conductor was actually struck with lightning, as if to display the value of the invention. An iron rod, more than half an inch in diameter, and tapering to its upper end, was raised about nine and a half feet above the chimneys of the house. Its upper end terminated in a sharp pointed brass wire about ten inches long, and a quarter of an inch thick; and its lower end was connected with an iron stake, which was driven into the ground to the depth of four or five feet. After being struck with lightning, Mr West found that the top of the pointed rod was melted, and the brass wire reduced from ten to seven and a half inches in length; and, what was interesting and instructive, the iron stake did not carry off the electricity with sufficient quickness, for in this and in other thunderstorms, the lightning was seen diffused near the stake, covering two or three yards of the pavement even when it was wet with rain.

The subject of protecting public buildings from lightning now excited a general interest throughout Europe; and nowhere more intensely than in England, where the new science was studied with much ardour and success. Dr Watson, one of the most active cultivators of electricity, when consulted by Mr Calandrini respecting the best method of protecting powder magazines, recommended that the conducting apparatus should be detached from the buildings themselves, and connected with the nearest pool or current of water; but it does not appear that this or any other method of protection was adopted, even to a small extent. The ignorant world seldom extends its faith to scientific principles, even when self-interest is their counsellor; and, though at this time the advantages of lightning conductors were publicly discussed in London, and an accident occurred which might have occasioned their general adoption, yet the public and its advisers nevertheless looked on with as much indifference, as if the event had happened

in another hemisphere. In the year 1750, the steeple of St Bride's Church in London had been damaged by lightning; and in June 1764, it was again struck by a powerful shock, which threw about seventy pounds of stone to a distance of fifty yards, and broke in two and bent one of the series of iron bars, about half an inch thick, which bound together the stonework of the spire. Entering the gilded vane at the summit of a vertical bar twenty feet long, the lightning made successive leaps from its extremity to the different horizontal bars which tied the different courses of stones, rending and tearing up the intermediate masonry in its course. So great was the damage, that it was necessary to *re-build EIGHTY-FIVE FEET of the spire*, and yet neither the churchwardens nor the rate-payers ever thought of providing against a similar disaster. 'My readers at a distance from London,' says Dr Priestley,* (writing in 1767,) 'will hardly believe me when I inform them, that the elegant spire which has been the subject of a great part of this section, and which has been twice damaged by lightning, *is now repaired without any metallic conductor to guard it in case of a third stroke.*'

It would not be an easy task, nor would it be a profitable one, to trace the history of the introduction of lightning conductors into different civilized states. Even after the lapse of nearly a century, and in countries where science has made the greatest progress, they have been used to a very limited extent; while in some, the prejudices of the people were roused against them. The first conductor used in England was erected in 1762, at Payne's Hill, by Dr Watson. In the year 1766, a lightning rod was put up in order to protect the fine tower of St Mark's at Venice. This tower, which is above three hundred and sixty feet in altitude, terminates in a pyramid eighty-seven feet high, surmounted with the figure of an angel made of wood, and covered with copper. In 1388, when it was formed of wood, it was severely injured. In 1417, it was consumed by lightning. In 1489, it was again reduced to ashes; and after it was rebuilt in stone, it was injured by lightning in 1548, 1565, and 1653; and in 1745, it was struck with such a tremendous bolt, that the whole tower was rent in thirty-seven places, and almost destroyed. The expense of repairing it amounted to 8000 ducats. In 1761 and 1762, it was again severely injured; but since the erection of the conductor in 1766, it does not seem to have suffered from any of the effects of lightning. In 1768, a committee of the Royal Society was appointed for protecting St Paul's from light-

* *History and Present State of Electricity*, p. 407.

ning; and they recommended iron bars not less than an inch square for securing the lantern. In 1769, a lightning-rod was erected in the great tower of Hamburg; and after the beautiful tower of the Cathedral of Sienna had been repeatedly damaged by lightning, a conductor was raised upon it. The ignorant inhabitants regarded the apparatus with terror and dismay, and gave it the name of the *heretical rod*. On the 10th April 1777, however, a heavy discharge of lightning, which struck the tower, was safely carried downwards by the conductor, without injuring even the gilded ornaments near which it passed; and after this experience of its value, the good Catholics of Sienna became reconciled to the new heresy of science. In the year 1772, Signor Beccaria applied conductors to the principal roofs of the Royal Palace of Turin, which had previously suffered much damage from lightning; and though since that time frequently menaced by thunderstorms, it has never suffered from them.

The attention of the public, in various parts of the Continent, was not practically directed to the subject of conductors till some striking accident made them the subject of general discussion. A remarkable case of this kind occurred in French Flanders in 1774. On the 24th February, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, a portentous cloud passed to the north-west of the city of Arras, and emitted some feeble claps of thunder. On the following day it struck two spires, one at the abbey of Hennin-Lietard and the other at Rouvroi. M. Buissart of Arras, having had occasion some months afterwards to be at Rouvroi, examined minutely the track of the lightning, and the effects which it produced, and he has clearly shown that the spire of Rouvroi was damaged by the *ascending or returning stroke* of the lightning. The two spires, which, according to the testimony of several credible witnesses, it struck at the same instant, were less than a league distant from each other. The weathercock of the spire of Rouvroi was carried away by the stroke and thrown about 260 yards to the east, while that of Hennin-Lietard remained in its place, and no trace of an ascending stroke was observed in this spire. In the case of Rouvroi, the whole pavement under the spire was *lifted up*, and three or four stones of the tower were damaged on that side, which would not have been touched had the progress of the lightning been downwards.

Another very curious and instructive case has been described by M. Lichtenberg, on the authority of Ingenhouss.* At the

* *Vermischte Schriften*, p. 160.

country seat of Count Orsini of Rosenberg, in Carinthia, the spire of a church, built on a mountain, had been on many occasions struck with lightning; and so very frequently and with such loss of life, that during summer divine service was not performed in the church. In 1730 the spire was entirely demolished by lightning, and after it was rebuilt it was struck four or five times every year. In the same thunderstorm, the lightning fell upon it no fewer than *ten* times, and afterwards in 1778 it was *five* times struck with lightning. The fifth stroke, on this occasion, was so violent that the spire began to give way, and Count Orsini was obliged to take it down. It was rebuilt a third time, and protected with a pointed conductor; and up to 1783, when Lichtenberg writes, it had received no injury in thunderstorms. The lightning had struck it only once, and its electricity was carried off without even fusing the sharp point of the conductor.

Another interesting example of the value of conductors occurred at Glogau in Silesia, in May 1782. About eight o'clock in the evening of the 8th, a thunderstorm from the west approached the powder magazine established in the Galgnuburg. A brilliant flash of lightning took place, accompanied with such a dreadful crash of thunder that the sentinel was stupified, and was for a while senseless. Some labourers employed at the works of the fortress, and about 250 paces from the magazine, saw the lightning issue from the cloud and strike the point of the conductor. This case of successful protection forms a remarkable contrast with others, in which, from the want of conductors, dreadful explosions and loss of life have ensued. A large quantity of gunpowder, belonging to the Republic of Venice, had been deposited in the vaults of the church of St Nazaire at Brescia. The tower of the church was struck with lightning in August 1767; the electric fluid descended to the vaults and exploded above 207,600 pounds of gunpowder. *About three thousand persons perished by this catastrophe*, and nearly one-sixth of the fine city of Brescia was destroyed. Owing to the same want of protection, a magazine of 400 barrels of gunpowder was blown up in Sumatra in 1782, by an electrical discharge; and at Luxembourg, in 1807, a magazine with twelve tons of gunpowder was exploded by lightning, and the lower part of the town laid in ruins.

But while facts such as these indicated the value of thunder-rods, cases frequently occurred where the thunderbolt fell upon objects in low situations, while higher objects in their immediate vicinity were spared; and in such cases it was always inferred that the theory of conductors was in fault. M. Achard, in a Memoir read to the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, mentions two cases of this kind. In one of them, the two objects

were, equally good conductors of electricity. In the other, the elevated object which escaped, was the tower of a church surmounted by a weathercock of iron; while the object which the lightning struck was a cottage very near the tower without any iron on its roof, and thatched with straw. But though cases of this kind, which M. Achard confesses himself unable to reconcile with the theory of conductors, prevented their general introduction, as it does in our own day, yet in almost all the larger cities of Europe and America, thunder-rods were gradually employed for the protection of powder magazines and elevated public buildings.

So early as the year 1762, Dr Watson addressed a letter to Lord Anson, then first lord of the admiralty, recommending the application of lightning conductors to the Royal Navy. These conductors were composed of long links of copper rod, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, joined by small eyes turned in the extremities of each. The chains thus formed were attached to a hempen line, and, being fixed to the head of the mast, passed over the ship's side into the sea. Each of his Majesty's ships was supplied with a conductor of this kind. It was packed up in a box, and was only to be erected on the approach of a storm. These conductors, however, though capable of protecting ships from lightning which falls upon the mast to which they were properly attached, never proved efficacious. The erection of them was often neglected; they were frequently out of order; and many cases occurred in which the sailors were killed by the lightning while in the act of raising the conducting chain to its place. From these causes the conductors introduced by Lord Anson fell into disuse; and the British navy may be considered as having been exposed during the last seventy years to the ravages of the most tremendous of the elements. Its ships have been severely disabled or set on fire, its seamen have been struck dead at the mast foot; and there is reason to believe that many of the ships lost in thunderstorms have suffered from the want of a suitable protection against lightning. The Journals of the East India Company's ships 'furnish appalling statements 'of the damage and loss of life caused by electrical explosions;' and our mercantile marine has suffered to an equal extent; some vessels having been rent to the keel by an electrical discharge, others set on fire and shattered, and some scarcely saved from sinking or from total destruction. 'Within a few years,' as Mr Harris remarks, 'the merchant ships *Tanjore*, *Poland*, *Logan*, *Ruthelia*, *Bolivar*, *Boston*, *Lydia*, and *Sir Walter Scott*, are 'known to have been entirely consumed.' The following facts, drawn from the official Journals deposited at the Admiralty, will

afford a better idea of the damage done by lightning to her Majesty's ships.

'In one hundred and fifty cases,' says Mr Harris, 'the majority of which occurred between 1799 and 1815, nearly one hundred lower masts of line-of-battle ships and frigates, with a corresponding number of top-masts, together with various stores, were wholly or partially destroyed. One ship in eight was set on fire in some part of the rigging or sails; upwards of seventy seamen were killed, and one hundred and thirty-three wounded, exclusive of nineteen cases in which the number of wounded is returned as "many," or "several." In one-tenth of these cases fourteen ships were completely disabled, and they were compelled in many instances to leave their stations, and that, too, at a critical period of our history. The expenditure in these few cases could not have been far short of £100,000 sterling; so that, if the whole amount of loss to the public in men, in money, and in services of ships, could be ascertained, it would prove to be enormous, more especially when we take into account the expense of the detention and refit of the damaged vessels, the average cost of a single line-of-battle ship being £100 per day and upwards. Now, between the years 1809 and 1815, a period of six years, fully thirty sail of the line and fifteen frigates were more or less disabled.

'A very considerable portion of this mass of destruction occurred, it is true, at a time when a great number of ships were required; but at a more recent period, in time of peace, when the navy has been greatly reduced, we find a large amount of these casualties to be constantly occurring. On the Mediterranean station alone, between 1838 and 1840, the *Rodney*, *Powerful*, *Ceylon*, *Tribune*, *Scorpion*, *Wasp*, *Tyne*, and *Blazer* were struck by lightning, and many of them severely damaged. The *Rodney*, in addition to the destruction of her mainmast, was set on fire. In little more than twelve months, about the year 1830, three line-of-battle ships, a frigate, and a brig, were also more or less disabled. In other parts of the world we have lately had the *Rhadamanthus*, *Gorgon*, *Snake*, *Racehorse*, *Pique*, and many others, damaged by lightning; and in 1832, the *Southampton*, of fifty guns, narrowly escaped being blown up in the Downs.'—(*Preface*, p. 7-9.)

After the application of conductors to the British navy had almost fallen into disuse in England, other nations began to use them to protect their ships of war and commerce. The Republic of Venice, by a decree of the 30th July 1778, ordered conductors to be applied to all their ships and powder magazines. We do not know the exact time when the French government took the same precaution, or the exact method of protection which they employed; but about 1784, M. Le Roi visited the seaports of France for the purpose of applying improved conductors to all departments of the navy. In order to make them more permanent, 'he proposed to lead links of copper, joined by 'intermediate rings, in divided stages along the rigging, fixing

'each stage to the successive masts, one over the other, and 'finally to the copper in the ship's bottom.' The ships *l'Etoile*, *Astrolabe*, *Resolution*, *Experiment*, and *Boussole* are thus equipped; but as the chains did not stand the working of the rigging, he at last 'led them along by the mast,' and in many thunderstorms they seem to have been effective. So recently, however, as 1821, wires twisted like cordage were applied to French ships 'along the rigging, from the vane rod to the ship's side, where 'they were connected with a plate reaching to the sea, as had 'been proposed by M. Le Roi.'

One of the first individuals whose attention was drawn to the imperfect state of ship conductors, was the late William Lord Napier. This active and highly intelligent Naval Officer, whose too early fate his country has had occasion to bewail, had, when at sea, witnessed several accidents from lightning. He was on board his Majesty's ship *Kent* of seventy-four guns, off Toulon, in the month of July 1811, when her main and mizen masts were shattered by lightning from her truck downwards.* 'Furling,' says his Lordship, 'the maintop-gallant sails, the fluid, deviating partially, killed one, and scorched three or four others then 'upon the yard. *Had there been a conductor up at that time,*' he adds, *'these brave men might have been saved;* but it does not 'actually follow that the mizen-mast would have been equally 'secure.' Hence he concludes that, in order to secure the masts and booms, *a conductor should be attached to each,* 'which 'would comprise in all an additional quantity of gear not 'concilable to the trim and gallant order of a British man-of-war.' The following observations by his Lordship point out the insufficiency of the conductors then employed; the want of regulations enforcing the use of them; and the propriety of an enquiry into the amount of loss sustained by lightning at sea, and the circumstances under which it had been sustained:—

'This apparatus (the usual chain conductor) is of course attached to the maintop-gallant mast-head, as being the most lofty; but it does not follow that the lightning is to strike in that direction, having once had the dreadful opportunity of witnessing, with my eyes fixed upon them at the moment, not less than *fifteen* most valuable men, all upon the bowsprit and jib-boom, killed or dreadfully scorched, as it were in the

* Mr Harris, in his account of this disaster, states that the conductor had been taken down from the mainmast for repair, having been damaged by the working of the mast and rigging. He informs us, also, on the authority of the *Report of Evidence on Shipwreck by Lightning*, (p. 92,) that several men on this occasion lost their lives.

"twinkling of an eye." Some were precipitated into the water, and others, lying dead across the boom, continued in the posture they had assumed before the accident took place. This happened on board a seventy-four at Port-Mahon, at a time when all her yards were manned in the operation of furling sails. It does not accord with my recollection whether her conductor was in use or not; but if any real dependence is to be placed on such a contrivance, it appears probable that *one* only is insufficient.

'There are, however, opposite opinions as to the merit of this apparatus, as well as of the propriety of its being used at all; and I do not remember, in spite of repeated accidents, that either the Board of Admiralty, or those great seamen and commanders of the Mediterranean fleet, Lords Nelson, Collingwood, and Exmouth, ever did enforce any general regulation on the subject.

'A conductor at the maintop-gallant mast-head can only be looked upon as an agent more powerful than the mast itself; but by no means calculated positively to draw within its own influence every portion of electric matter which may have come first in contact, or in near appulse, with any other point; and although the mast-head is almost invariably the first to suffer, yet it is within my own knowledge, though I was not actually present, that several men, in the act of withdrawing their washed clothes from the *main rigging*, were killed and scorched by the descent of the electric fluid.

'It would be not only curious, but useful to ascertain, if possible, the following circumstances:—1. How many ships have been struck with lightning, out of a given number in a given time? 2. What has been the loss of lives, the extent of damage, and the *expense of repairs*? 3. How many of these ships were habitually in the practice of using conductors? and 4. Did any of the ships, having them in use, suffer from the effects of lightning, and in what manner?'

These valuable observations and suggestions Lord Napier was, in 1823, advised to communicate to the public; and it must be peculiarly gratifying to the friends of this modest and unassuming, but well-informed nobleman, to find that they have, to a great extent, been carried into effect.*

* Mr G. J. Singer appears (*Elements of Electricity*, published in 1814, Part III. chap. i. pp. 225-6) to have entertained similar views. 'Conductors,' says he, 'for ships have been made of chains, (which are highly improper,) and of copper wires, which are easily attached, but they are with equal ease detached; and I have been informed by several captains, that many ships furnished with such conductors *keep them in an inactive state, packed up below during long and hazardous voyages*. For this reason, it would be better that *fixed* conductors should be employed: they might, I should conceive, be attached to the mast; and where motion is required, an interruption might be made in the inflexible conductor, and its parts be connected together by a length of spiral

Without any knowledge of Lord Napier's views, Mr Harris had been directing his attention to this important practical application of his electrical knowledge; and, so early as 1820, he submitted to the Lords of the Admiralty, through the Comptroller of the Navy, a proposal to 'make the masts themselves 'virtually lightning-conductors, by incorporating with them a 'double set of copper plates, in such a way as to produce an 'elastic metallic line along their surface, capable of resisting 'any strain which the spars themselves could support; and, 'finally, to connect these plates with bands of copper, leading 'through the side under the deck-beams, and with the large bolts 'leading through the keels and keelson, and including all the 'principal metallic masses in the hull.'

This proposal attracted little notice, perhaps as being beyond the comprehension of the persons to whom the government of the Navy of Great Britain was entrusted. Mr Harris, however, and his scientific friends, influenced by a love of science, as well as by a regard for human life, continued to press his invention upon a reluctant Board; and after a favourable Report by a Committee of the Royal Society, and a siege of nearly nine years, the Admiralty was induced, chiefly through the instrumentality of Sir T. Byam Martin and Sir George Cockburn, to make trial of Mr Harris's conductors. They accordingly, after 1830, fitted up above *thirty* ships with pointed conductors fixed in all their masts, which were stationed in the Mediterranean, the East Indies, at the Cape of Good Hope, and the coast of Africa; in South America, in North America, and the West Indies; and in the Channel, and on general service. These ships have been exposed to severe thunderstorms; and though heavy discharges of electricity have fallen upon them, yet in no instance, between 1829 and 1842, have they experienced any damage or inconvenience. One of them, furnished with Mr Harris's conductors, the *Dryad* frigate, was in 1830, when off the coast of Africa, struck by lightning in a tornado. 'The discharge fell on both the fore and main masts 'with a loud whizzing sound, and the ship appeared enveloped 'in flames.' In other cases, such as that of the *Asia* and *Druid* frigates, struck in 1831 and 1832, the electrical explosion passed safely along the conductors into the sea.

During the same period in which these *thirty* ships have been protected by their lightning-conductors, about *forty-one*, not similarly defended, are known to have been struck and injured.

'wire, which would be at once perfectly continuous, and sufficiently flexible to yield to every necessary movement.'

We may, therefore, consider this great experiment as establishing beyond a doubt the practical value of Mr Harris's system of protection. The Admiralty, however, still declined to introduce these conductors into the Navy, as a necessary part of the equipment of each ship of war. A line-of-battle ship has been valued at £120,000, and yet £100 was grudged for defending this noble and costly machine, and protecting the lives of the many hundreds of brave and skilful men employed in, and necessary to its uses !

In 1839, however, a great step was made in the promotion of this desirable object. Lord Eliot had the honour of bringing the subject before the House of Commons in the month of April; and after a short discussion, it was agreed to appoint a Naval Commission to enquire into the best method of applying conductors to our ships of war. This Commission was composed of men of science, naval officers, and other qualified persons; and, after a careful investigation, they drew up a very valuable Report on the subject, full of useful evidence, both oral and documentary. The Report was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and, in February 1840, ordered to be printed. It contains much important information, and establishes, beyond all question, the propriety of supplying every vessel with suitable conductors. 'Every search,' says the Report, 'has been made for cases of injury sustained by ships fitted with (Mr Harris's) conductors, and though several statements to that effect have been brought under our notice, *not one* has been substantiated.'

In the very year before the appointment of this Commission, the East India Company had been led to believe, upon most erroneous representations made to them by some of their officers, that buildings furnished with conductors were more frequently struck with lightning than those which had no such protection; and, on the faith of these representations, they actually ordered the lightning-conductors to be removed from their powder-magazines, and other public buildings ! This took place in 1838; and, as if to give them a practical example of their folly, one of their powder-magazines at Dum Dum, and a corn-ing-house at Mazagon, were struck with lightning and blown up. It is not difficult to understand how an ignorant and superstitious observer should regard a conductor as inviting or attracting the dangerous element into his dwelling, when, if allowed to take its own way, it might have remained in its thunder-cloud, or pursued a different path; but when a series of well-authenticated cases, within the reach as well as the apprehension of ordinary men, clearly establish the general fact, that buildings

which had been frequently damaged by lightning, never experienced any of its effects after they had been properly protected; and that ships with conductors defy the thunderbolts even of the tropical regions, it must be superstition, and not knowledge; that refuses to receive their aid. There are thunderbolts, doubtless, which pursue their determined course, and strike a building even in the vicinity of its conductors; but this very fact, while it proves the inability of the conductors to divert the fireball from its course, proves also their inability to attract or invite the meteor. In place of being active instruments which drive or draw the lightning into their substance, they are but passive fire-drains which afford it a free and hospitable channel—carrying it off slowly and silently when it is slowly and silently evolved, or allowing it to rush along when this is the shortest and readiest passage to the unchained and accumulated electricity. ‘Such conductors,’ as Mr Harris well observes, ‘can no more be said to attract or invite a discharge of lightning, than a *water-course* can be said to attract the water which flows through it at the time of heavy rain.’

The Naval Commissioners deemed it proper to dispel, by means of facts, the vulgar prejudice that conductors attract to themselves lightning, which, had they been absent, would not have been elicited. They state, ‘that the instances of accidents to ships *without conductors*, and the comparatively rare occurrence of lightning being observed to *strike* on a conductor, negative the above supposition.’ The instances, too, of ships without conductors, having been struck by lightning in the presence of ships furnished with them, ‘which were not so struck, are so numerous, that we have the most complete evidence both of the little influence excited by such conductors in inducing or attracting an explosive discharge, and of their efficacy in harmlessly and imperceptibly conveying away electricity to the water.’

The Commissioners conclude this interesting Report with the following words:—‘We again beg to state our UNANIMOUS opinion of the great advantages possessed by Mr Harris’s conductors *above every* other plan; affording permanent security, at all times and under all circumstances, against the injurious effects of lightning; *effecting this protection without any nautical inconvenience or scientific objection whatever*, and we therefore *most earnestly recommend their general adoption* in the Royal Navy.’

One would have thought that Mr Harris’s difficulties were now over. A Royal Society Committee—nay, an Admiralty Commission, acting under the authority of Parliament, had, with one

voice, recommended his conductors; and yet some counter-influence was at work, striving to resist authority as well as to subvert truth. All the ships fitted up with the new conductors had returned safe, and uninjured by the thunderbolts to which they had been exposed; yet, when these ships were paid off, *the conductors were torn from the spars and thrown aside as old copper, instead of being replaced in other ships!* This summary and practical rejection of the new conductors happened, we are sorry to say, under a Whig administration, when Sir James Graham was First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr Harris, however, renewed his application when Lord Minto was placed at the head of that Board, and had it not been for the defective state of our finances, his plans would, we believe, have been instantly adopted. Although Lord Minto could not, in the then state of the treasury, press the introduction of an improvement involving a considerable expenditure, he freely acknowledged the value of the invention; and ordered the conductors to be replaced in some of the large class ships. In order to save expense, we presume, 'the plan was (most improperly) taken entirely out of the hands of the inventor;' and about the same time, a sort of cheap modification of it by a Mr Edye, patronised by the Surveyor of the Navy, was ordered to be submitted to trial. The Commission, however, decided against its adoption; and in 1842, the Admiralty may be said to have been *compelled* to save the British navy from lightning. Mr Harris's plans were adopted; he was allowed to superintend their execution; and his conductors are now constructed in a cheap, expeditious, and effectual manner in all her Majesty's dockyards.

Having thus given our readers some account of the ancient and modern history of lightning-conductors, and of Mr Harris's successful attempt to introduce his new system of protection into the British navy, we shall now proceed to give a popular account of the nature of thunderstorms; and a brief description of the best method of defending buildings and ships against their destructive assaults.

The production of free electricity during the conversion of water into vapour or steam is so rapid and abundant, that an apparatus called the hydro-electric machine has been recently constructed, in which the electricity is derived from steam. The earth's atmosphere is, therefore, in reality a huge hydro-electric apparatus, by which free electricity is constantly generated during the conversion of water into vapour; and the electricity thus liberated is increased or modified by the condensation of vapour into rain, by its congelation in the form of hail or snow,

and by the sudden variations of temperature with which these changes are accompanied.*

Atmospheric air, and all dry gases, are very perfect non-conductors or insulators of electricity; and hence when a cloud or mass of vapour, charged with free electricity, floats in the atmosphere, its electricity is not carried off, or conducted to the earth, by the air which is interposed. The cloud, therefore, retains its electricity in virtue of the insulating medium which surrounds it; but when its quantity becomes great, it induces an electric state opposite to its own in the particles of the air, making them *negative* when it is *positive*, and *positive* when it is *negative*; just as a loadstone or magnet produces by induction in a bar of soft iron, *boreal* magnetism in one-half, and *austral* magnetism in the other. The particles of the air in this state are said by Dr Faraday to be polarized; and the consequence of this state is, that the earth's surface finally assumes an electrical state opposite to that of the cloud. The cloud, therefore, the air, and the earth, are all in an unnatural or constrained state; and the tendency of the two electricities to unite, is a force which, when it becomes irresistible, terminates in what Dr Faraday calls a disruptive discharge. The free electricity of the cloud rushes to the earth, acting principally on the bodies through which it passes; or, what is not uncommon, the free electricity of the earth passes into the cloud, and both of these violent discharges is accompanied with the well-known phenomena of thunder and lightning.

This sudden interchange of powers is often prevented or modified by local causes. If the electrified cloud and the insulating medium are not in a state of extreme constraint, and if a pointed metallic rod projects into the medium, a discharge of electricity will take place from the particles of air touching the metallic point, and a beautiful brush of light will be produced, accompanied with a rushing noise. The whole electricity of the cloud may thus be quietly carried off, and a disruptive discharge completely prevented.

The very same phenomena take place when one charged cloud induces an opposite state in another cloud, through the intermedium of the air; and there is reason to believe, as maintained by Beccaria, that more complex discharges take place between 'such' distant clouds when the earth lies between them in the line of discharge.

* If Dr Faraday be correct in ascribing the electricity in the hydro-electric machine to the *friction of the escaping steam*, these views will admit of some modification.

The following account of a thunderstorm in the Gulf Stream, is a very instructive illustration of the preceding views. It was given by a passenger on board the splendid packet-ship *New York*, which was damaged by lightning on the 19th of April 1827, on her voyage to Liverpool:—

‘About half-past five in the morning, we were roused by a sound like the report of heavy cannon close to our ears. From the deck the word was quickly passed that the ship had been struck by lightning, and was on fire. Every one ran on deck; there, all the elements were in violent commotion; it had been broad day, but so dark, so dense, and so close upon us were the clouds, that they produced almost the obscurity of night. There was just sufficient light to give a bold relief to every object in the appalling scene. The rain poured down in torrents, mingled with hailstones as large as filberts: these lay upon the deck nearly an inch thick. Overhead blazed the lightning on all sides, accompanied by simultaneous reports: the sea ran mountains high, and the ship was tossed rapidly from one sea to another. One appearance was peculiarly remarkable: the temperature of the sea was 74 deg. Fahrenheit, while that of the air was only 48 deg. This caused, by evaporation and condensation, immense clouds of vapour, which, ascending in columns all around us, *exhibited the appearance of innumerable pillars supporting a massive canopy of clouds*. In all directions might be seen waterspouts, which, rising fearfully to the clouds, seemed actually to present to the eye a combination of all the elements for the destruction of every thing on the face of the deep.’—(P. 54.)

This storm has been instanced by Mr Harris as a case of *stationary* disturbance of electrical equilibrium; but there are various other types of a thunderstorm arising from the *motion of clouds*. The following is an instance of ‘a charged cloud driven by an upper current upon a comparatively tranquil air, possibly in a polarized state.’ His Majesty’s frigate *Clorinde* was damaged by lightning on the coast of Ceylon in the spring of 1813. Captain Briggs gives this account of it:—

‘*The weather was moderate*. About three in the afternoon a dark cloud approached the ship from the *windward* quarter. This induced me to clue up the topsails. About an hour afterwards the ship was struck by lightning. The cloud was charged with electricity, and had burst upon the ship. The mainmast was shivered in pieces; three men were killed, and many hurt.’—(P. 60.)

When highly electrified clouds are passing over the earth’s surface, ‘we may,’ says Mr Harris, ‘trace in their progress deliberate discharges of a passing kind, few in number, in some instances not extending beyond one or two.’ Such thunderstorms, if they deserve the name, bear scarcely any relation to those wide-spread disturbances of the atmosphere which pass

over a great extent of country, destroying life and property in their career. In these cases, the atmosphere appears to receive an intense charge of electricity from the electrified masses of clouds, as they are hurried along by the wind.

'Such storms,' says Mr Harris, 'have been observed to pass from the southern shores of England to the north of Scotland and Ireland. A thunderstorm of this kind occurred in July 1827. It began on the S.W. coast of Devonshire on Sunday evening, reached Cheltenham the same night, and Glasgow the next morning, the atmosphere throughout this extent appearing to undergo a rapid and progressive change.'—(P. 62.)

We have already alluded to the case of a thunderstorm produced by the distant and oppositely electrified masses of clouds and air, in which 'the surface of the earth becomes involved as 'a line of discharge between them;' but as this case is only a hypothetical one, we must refer the reader to Mr Harris's brief notice of it.

The *returning stroke*, discovered by Lord Stanhope, and which has been considered as finely exemplified in the case of the spire of Rouvroi, (see p. 458,) is still beset with difficulties. The example given of it by his Lordship occurred in Scotland, and has been described by Mr Brydone in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1787, to which we must refer the reader.

There is another class of thunderstorms, of an exceedingly interesting nature, to which Mr Harris has not directed his attention in this work, from the circumstance, no doubt, of their leading character being that of the hurricane and the tornado. We have previously * treated of the statistics and philosophy of this class of storms, and have described many of the principal electrical phenomena which accompany them. In the Barbadoes hurricane of the 18th and 19th August 1831, these phenomena were so awfully grand in their nature, and so new and inexplicable in their character,† that it would be desirable to study the electrical separately from the mechanical phenomena of such hurricanes, and endeavour to obtain some general explanation of them. The meteors and lightning which accompany the gales of the East and West Indies have been overlooked amid the appalling dangers of the tempest, and in very few of the Mauritius gales, except in that of the *Boyne* in 1835, have the electrical phenomena been at all observed. So trivial, indeed, is the part which thunder and lightning plays in

* See this Journal, January 1839, Vol. LXVIII. p. 406.

† *Ibid.* pp. 418, 419.

these tremendous convulsions of nature, that at Montego Bay, in the hurricane of the 3d October 1780, when an earthquake added its awful contingent to the general horrors of the scene, the 'prodigious flashes of lightning,' which followed in regular succession, were regarded, not as a source of danger, but as 'a real blessing, amid the midnight darkness which brooded over the general desolation.'

Our limits will not allow us to pursue this interesting subject further; and we must, therefore, devote our few remaining pages to a brief notice of the best method of protecting buildings from lightning, and of Mr Harris's system of conductors for ships.

Were our houses, powder-magazines, and ships, built of iron, or did they consist of a framework of iron, filled up with stone, brick, or wood, they might bid defiance to the ravages of accidental or wilful fire, as well as to all the lightning of the tropics. Strike where it might, the deadly fluid would be conducted quietly to the ground. In the mean time, however, we must have recourse to a less perfect system of protection, till advancing knowledge and receding prejudice shall have introduced iron buildings and iron ships, as well as iron ploughs, iron roads, and iron bridges.

As the conducting powers of *lead, tin, iron, zinc, and copper*, are as the Nos. 1—2—2·4—4 and 12, copper is the best material for conducting-rods. The quantity of metal in the rod should not be less than what is contained in a cylinder *half an inch* in diameter. If *iron* is used, the cylinder should be nearly *an inch* and two-tenths in diameter. The metallic rod should be flattened rather than round, so as to have the greatest surface that is consistent with strength. The conductor thus formed should communicate with all the detached masses of metal in the building, such as leaden ridges, gutters, and metallic pipes. It should be placed as near the wall as possible, and pass directly into the ground. It should be attached to the most elevated point of the building, and if the structure is to consist of numerous ranges, such as the new Houses of Parliament,* long pointed rods should project from the most prominent parts into the atmosphere.

* We earnestly hope that this splendid national structure, which is to be adorned internally by the genius of our Artists, will be protected externally by the science of our Philosophers. We fear, however, that the expression of this hope is not sufficiently early to enable the architect to embody a system of metallic conductors in the very walls of the edifice.

In place of adopting the usual method of external conductors, we would recommend the introduction of a vertical iron bar into the thickness of the principal walls of the building. These bars should communicate with a horizontal wall plate of iron uniting the whole; and from this wall plate should rise all the external conductors which are to project into the atmosphere. These iron plates and bars might be so united as to form a sort of carpentry, which would add to the strength of the edifice.*

The protection of ships from lightning is more difficult to accomplish than that of buildings; and we have no hesitation in saying that the method invented by Mr Harris far surpasses all others, and completely fulfils all the objects of its application. These conductors consist of parallel plates of copper, about two-tenths of an inch thick, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 inches wide, and 4 feet long. They are placed in a shallow groove, ploughed out of the after side of each mast, and are fixed there by short copper nails. The plates are inserted in the groove in a double series in contact, so that the joints of the plates of one series are opposite to the middle of the plates of the other series; and this series of plates is so turned over the heads of their respective spars, and also round the termination of the mast in the step on the keelson, that a continuous metallic line is maintained, notwithstanding the sliding or even removal of the spars. From the bottom of the masts, the metallic plates extend to the copper sheathing of the ship, and all the metallic bands terminate in the sea, by bolts clenched on the copper sheathing. When a ship is thus defended, it is at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances, secure against the attacks of lightning. The conductors are always where they ought to be, independent of the officers and the crew. When the top-masts or topgallant-masts are partially lowered, the continuity of the metallic line is kept up, although the inferior part of the conductor of the lowered mast is thrown out of its place. The system of protection, indeed, is fixed and permanent, notwithstanding the change of position or even the removal of the moveable or sliding masts.

In order to exhibit more fully and distinctly the national value of this system of protection, Mr Harris has just published an interesting pamphlet,† in which he has detailed the damage

* Bell wires and metallic pipes for water and gas, in modern houses, require to be carefully connected with the principal conductors. Without this precaution, they are rifles directed against the lives of the inhabitants.

† *The Meteorology of Thunderstorms, with a History of the Effects of Lightning on 210 Ships of the British Navy.* 1844.

done by lightning to 210 ships of the British Navy. Of these, 133 occurred in time of war, between 1793 and 1816, when 69 ships of the line, 49 frigates, and 32 sloops were disabled; and 55 in peace, when 8 sail of the line, 14 frigates, and 32 sloops suffered. In estimating the loss sustained by these vessels, Mr Harris finds it to be about £125,000; or about £10,000 annually in war, and £2500 in time of peace. Now it is a matter of fact, established by the official Journals of the Navy, that not one of the vessels fitted with Mr Harris's conductors suffered the slightest injury from lightning; and we must therefore regard his plan of protection as producing a saving to the country, of £10,000 per annum in time of war, and £2500 in time of peace; without attempting to estimate the loss sustained by our commercial marine, or presuming to appraise human suffering, or to put a value upon human life. The man who thus protects the national property—who adds strength and security to the national bulwarks, and saves the lives of the brave men to whose guardianship they are entrusted—is well entitled to be viewed as a national benefactor, and as having earned the noble praise that he served his species whilst serving his country. Yet true it is, as we believe, that he has not received any special reward for labours attended with such ever-enduring and beneficent results—prolonged as these labours have been through nearly half a century.

We would not, by any means, wish to be understood as ready to espouse any claim for recompense that might be preferred, on the ground merely of some considerable addition having been made to the existing sum of scientific knowledge. But the case where the labours of a life have been devoted to, and realized in, a discovery or plan productive of results most precious to the interests of the Empire and of Humanity, and evidently incapable of being adequately compensated but through the intervention of the State receiving the benefit, is one which presents itself under a very different aspect; and we humbly conceive that the case before us is of this description. We are quite aware that Lord Melbourne, before leaving office, judiciously bestowed upon Mr Harris a scientific pension of L.300 a-year which had become vacant; but this, we must presume, was conferred, not as a remuneration for a particular invention or service, but as a distinction due to general eminence in science, and shared with others similarly honoured. It would, therefore, be but a just and becoming exercise of public beneficence, were a proper compensation awarded to Mr Harris for the time, labour, and anxieties consumed and endured, in maturing, and energetically prosecuting the adoption of a system of protection so vastly beneficial to the Nation and to Mankind.

ART. V.—1. *Speeches delivered in the House of Commons by the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, on the Renewal of the Bank Charter.* London: 1844.

2. *Speech of Lord Monteagle in the House of Lords on the Import Duties, 13th June 1844.*

3. *Speech of Viscount Howick on the Corn Laws, 25th June 1844.*

4. *Speech of Viscount Palmerston on the Slave Trade, 16th July 1844.*

THREE years are now completed since a general election and a change of government restored Sir Robert Peel and his friends to power. They were reinforced by the accession of Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, Lord Ripon, and their political associates. The support of other members of Parliament, of character and official experience, was also given to the new administration. The opposition of others was greatly mitigated or neutralized, if not wholly withdrawn; or it was converted into a more useful, because an independent support. Former differences between these parties had been forgotten: they had acted in concert for seven years—a long political apprenticeship. The jealousies which existed in earlier times had long been extinguished, and had merged in the bond of a common antipathy; no political coalition in modern history seemed to create so much strength, and to be open to less objection. It seemed not only excusable, but natural, and almost inevitable. The Parliamentary majority produced by the general election, far exceeded the expectation of the Government. The superiority of the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo was scarcely more unquestionable than in the House of Lords. The Church hailed the advent of the former member for Oxford, whose offences in 1829 were considered to be atoned for in 1841, by the penances and mortifications to which he had submitted, and by a political fast of eleven years. The Landed Interest were loud in their exultation; and were prepared to turn again into ploughshares those swords which they had so long wielded in the Conservative cause. The powerful and well-organized body of the Wesleyans, deluded into the belief that the Whig policy was not more fatal to British agriculture than to Scriptural truth, felt a pious security in the protection of the new Cabinet. The West Indians pointed with triumph to Mr Gladstone and Mr Goulburn, and rejoiced under the shadow of their hogsheds and puncheons. The high Protes-

tants of Ireland impatiently reckoned upon the downfall of Maynooth, and the overthrow of an unchristian system of Education. It was prophesied that Repeal agitation would cease, and that the collection of the O'Connell rent—that modern exaction of Peter's pence—would, at the best, be subjected to the penalties of high treason. The merchant was taught to expect the ratification of commercial treaties between England and all the nations with whom fruitless negotiations had been carried on. The Saint and the Moralist were persuaded that the crime of opium traffic would be expiated, and its recurrence effectually prevented; and that Slavery and the Slave-trade must cease, under the influence of a government that could consistently appeal to the Christian recollections of the Holy Alliance, and the pledges given by the sovereigns assembled at Vienna and Verona. The Cosmopolite was taught that universal peace was secured; that the tranquillity and civilization of Africa would be maintained and promoted by the combined efforts and generous rivalry of the two free sovereignties of the West; and that, under the influence of Conservative wisdom and Conservative power, all causes of contest between nation and nation, from the Oregon to the Levant, would be extinguished.

These bright anticipations, combined with a belief that the result of the general election had made any government but that of Sir Robert Peel impossible, gave to that statesman and his cabinet a strength almost unexampled in modern times. The number of his troops had been early shown—their discipline proved in past campaigns—their devotion to their leader was expected to be perpetual, founded as it was, not only on a just admiration of his high attainments, but on a grateful sense of his invaluable party services. It was under such auspices that the Tory Government succeeded to power; and never apparently did political power possess more elements of union and stability. The pledges, either directly or tacitly given to the country, were clear and distinct. The expectations formed by the party were great. How have those pledges been redeemed? How far have those expectations been fulfilled? How now stands the reputation of the Conservative Ministry, and the Conservative Parliament, at the close of the last, their third session? What progress has been made in useful legislation? and how far have the interests of the Empire, and of the World, been promoted under the authority and influence of her Majesty's present advisers?

The enquiry is interesting, provided it be prosecuted in a spirit of truth and fairness. The bitter and sarcastic speeches with which Lord Lyndhurst, when in opposition, was wont to conclude the Parliamentary Session, though characterized by

power and brilliancy, failed in their effect, from their utter want of candour and justice. It is true, that, circulated throughout the country, these speeches served the temporary purpose of getting up a cry; they excited the strongest prejudices against one party, and encouraged unbounded expectations of good from the other. This condemnation of the Whigs, and these promises made by the Sponsor for the Tories, served their turn. The justice of the condemnation, and the prudence of the promises, are now more than doubtful; and if to create groundless animosities, and to encourage hopes equally groundless, be a crime, it is one which, in this instance, has carried with it a full measure of punishment. The bitter cup is now returned to the lips of those by whom it was filled to overflowing. The weights and measures distributed by the Carlton Club through all Conservative associations and meetings, serve but as standards by which the acts of the Government are now estimated and compared.

The unfavourable result of this comparison has been loudly proclaimed by the Tory party, both in and out of Parliament. The retribution is as complete as it is severe. In a recent work, curiously compounded of politics and fiction, and of considerable notoriety, an eager political partisan is described as having been employed in the preparation of 'slashing articles in a party Review, passed off as genuine coin, to take in the lieges, especially in the country.' These articles are said to have been 'written in a style apparently modelled on the briefs of those sharp attorneys who weary advocates with clever commonplace—the censure coarse without being strong, and vindictive where it should have been sarcastic.*' Such articles, like the 'slashing' speeches we have mentioned, were by the party largely resorted to; but they failed in producing any lasting effect. The one and the other were soon discredited, and are now no longer current. They are cried down even by those for whose benefit they were first put into circulation. This result reads to us a salutary, and, we hope, an effectual lesson—teaching by an example which cannot be mistaken, and which ought not to be forgotten, that the honourable advocacy of a party is best promoted by the observance of truth and candour; and that all exaggeration or over-colouring of facts, however they may lead to an ignoble and unworthy triumph, can never promote the permanent interests of any cause, either public or private. It may be presumptuous to hope, that in all cases we have our-

* See *Coningsby; or, the New Generation*. By B. D'Israeli, M.P.

selves avoided the errors and practices we condemn. The want of candour in an opponent is a common complaint, and we admit that it is easier to detect and expose it, than it is to be generous or even strictly just; but we hope, that in former articles similar to the present, we discussed fairly and dispassionately the proceedings which they surveyed. We endeavoured, in all sincerity, to escape the errors which we now condemn, and to adhere to the principles we here proclaim. And in this spirit, and in conformity with these principles, we now propose to make an analysis of the Session just closed, and to invite our readers to consider how far its proceedings deserve the approval of the public, and how far the Tory Ministry deserves its confidence.

Parliament met early in the month of February, and sat for upwards of sixth months. In respect to all practical suggestions, the Speech from the Throne promised little; yet it promised more than has been performed. Peace with all Europe, and more especially our friendly relations with France, were made subjects of congratulation. The events of Tahiti and Morocco have since enabled us to estimate the real worth of these announcements. The treaty concluded with China was described as highly advantageous to the commercial interests of England; yet the just and necessary war which led to that treaty, had been previously proclaimed by the Tory leaders, in the House of Commons, as an act of unpardonable rashness and injustice. The successful result of wars in India was alluded to with triumph; but no reference was made to the pledges of a pacific policy, as ostentatiously given by Lord Ellenborough as they were afterwards recklessly violated. The revision of the Bank of England's Charter was recommended, which, however, the state of the law made inevitable. A determination to maintain the union with Ireland was expressed, and the necessity admitted of adopting measures for improving the social condition and developing the natural resources of that country; but no hint was given as to the nature of the measures contemplated, or to be introduced. A revision of the system of registration of its voters, with a view to the extension of the county franchise, was also announced.

Such were the main topics adverted to in the royal Speech. We doubt whether the annals of Parliament have ever exhibited a Session in which so little has been effected to satisfy the people, or to raise the character of Parliament. Indeed this seems to be admitted by the Government itself—one solitary Act of Parliament being named, in the closing speech from the Throne, as deserving any special notice. We search the statute-book in vain for any series of enactments worthy of the legislature of an enlightened community; nor have the debates, or Parliamentary

enquiries been of a more elevated character. Three Acts, it is true, have passed, for the protection of certain noblemen and gentlemen from the *qui tam* penalties to which they were exposed, in consequence of their extravagant speculations on the turf; and if Parliament has been reluctant to consider the application of economical science to our Import Duties, we ought doubtless to derive some consolation from the recollection that it has been applied, with a skill worthy of Ricardo or Mill, in the Report on Gambling. Nor was the interesting subject of Dog-Stealing overlooked. Our domestic poet, Cowper, extracted moral instruction from the habits of his spaniel, by proving that

‘ His dog should mortify the breed
Of man’s superior race; ’

and as it was somewhat irreverently alleged in the honourable House, that certain analogies might be traced between the discipline to which Members of Parliament had recently been subjected and the habits of the spaniel race, Mr Liddell’s Committee may have been, in more ways than one, appropriate and useful. In the House of Lords, a recollection of the contaminated sources from which the revenue of the See of Winchester had, in early times, been derived—and a consciousness that the Dean and Chapter of Westminster had not been as careful to purge their estates from profligacy and vice as from Dissenting Chapels—led to an attempt at legislation in favour of female chastity, which was not quite so effectual as it was generous. In another Session this subject will, we doubt not, be resumed; but we fear that, in the mean time, the Almonry must continue, like charity, to cover a multitude of sins. Nor must it be forgotten that the House of Commons—doubtless from a modest fear of doing wrong, combined with an equal mistrust in its powers of doing right—has solved many problems, and escaped many temptations and difficulties, by a frequent recourse to the effectual process of ‘counting out.’ If Sir Robert Walpole was justified in saying, at the close of a Session, ‘Thank God, no further mischief can be done for six months!’—it would be most unjust to entertain a doubt, that it was a conviction like that of the great Whig Minister which induced members of Parliament, by appropriately retiring from their post, thus to protect their country, during twenty-four hours at the least, from any rash or dangerous legislation. Lest such repeated secessions from public duty should lead to any suspicion of indolence or inaptitude for public business, our considerate Ministers have, on other occasions, doubled the labours of Parliament, by calling on the House to reverse on the morrow the resolution of the preceding day!

It is really curious to examine the statutes which received the

Royal Assent, from the 3d February to the 3d July of the present year. The first four months of the Session produced no one enactment of the slightest public interest or importance; with the exception of the act for reducing the interest of the three-and-a-half per cents. In all other respects, the statute book is a perfect blank, or is only filled up by Indemnity bills, Mutiny bills, and other formal measures, which do not require or exhibit any great proofs either of legislative or administrative capacity.

It is true that, towards the end of the Session, the wheel turned round with an unexampled and somewhat dangerous velocity; and if at one period measures were discussed without being passed, at another they were passed without any attempt at effectual discussion. In apology, it is said that this must ever be the case, that this complaint is one perpetually made, that it indicates an evil for which there is no remedy;—an evil for which neither the present Parliament nor the present Government can be held peculiarly responsible. This we deny; but even if it were as true as we believe it to be false, it is no justification of some late events. The growing inattention manifested by both Houses to the performance of their functions, is, we know, daily more and more complained of; and this subject is of infinitely greater moment than it is generally considered to be. The respect and confidence which the public have been accustomed to feel for the deliberations and decisions of Parliament are, indeed, lamentably diminished. The keen interest which its proceedings formerly excited, exists no longer. Even the ambition to obtain a seat in Parliament is lessened; the difficulty of inducing well-qualified candidates to come forward is complained of; and the whole relations between the public and both Houses are, we grieve to say, altered for the worse. The tone in which public affairs are discussed is lowered, and a languid indifference is, by degrees, extending its chilling influence over the representatives of the people, and the people themselves. Why should this great evil be? and how can it be remedied? It is said by some that there has not been, at any former time, a greater aggregate amount of information or ability in Parliament than at present; but that it is only more diffused. It is urged, too, that great events are required to call forth great men; and that a civil crisis is as necessary for the display of high civil endowments, as a war is for the exhibition of the ability of a great commander. It is further added, that in our more calm and tranquil times, no great opportunities are afforded to public men to vindicate their claims to the respect of their country. There may be some truth in these remarks; but we fear that the evil lies deeper. If legislators are to lead

opinion as well as to legislate, they must vindicate their claims, individually and collectively, to a superiority over the rest of the community. Public intelligence is daily more matured—knowledge is more widely diffused. Is it very clear, then, that the class from which members of Parliament are taken, preserves its relative position in advance, either as relates to reputation or to the performance of duty? The refinements of advancing civilization contribute to withdraw the less strenuous and manly from contentions for which they feel an increasing disinclination and unfitness. Taste becomes more fastidious; and the risks of failure in public life create more apprehension than the chances of success excite hopes. The pleasures and attractions of society are found by many to be more powerful than the demands of a generous ambition. The hour of eight o'clock leaves the House of Lords deserted. In the House of Commons, from the hours of seven to ten, the Speaker and a despairing quorum give some occupation to the Reporters at night, though perhaps without much instruction to the readers of the morrow. The want of any real interest in Parliamentary proceedings is strongly exemplified, we think, in the necessity felt by the London Journalists to provide a short abstract of each Parliamentary discussion; thus to relieve their readers from the toil of labouring through wearisome arguments and heavy details, which, though gods and men may find it difficult to tolerate, the columns of the daily press are compelled to furnish. Who that has read them, can ever forget those noble words of Milton, which apply so strikingly to the topics upon which we have touched! ‘Lords and Commons of England, consider what nation whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors;—a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit—acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers?’

The diminution of the sinew and bone of the body politic, we believe to be traceable but in part only to the causes which we have enumerated. The increase of the evils in question, during the last three or four years, but more particularly their alarming development during the late Session, must be sought for in less general causes. The character of a deliberative assembly is to a certain degree formed, or at least influenced, by the government of the day; and we judge of a nation by its rulers. This is to a certain degree inevitable, and in a free country it is also to a certain extent just; for that which the national will tolerates and permits, it may be said to approve; and the public and Parlia-

ment may be considered responsible, for any government which they support, however feebly and reluctantly. It is to the proceedings and acts of the present government—it is to their character, their origin, and their conduct—that we may attribute principally, though we admit not exclusively, the lamentable and hourly increasing flatness and apathy of public feeling. The differences of party being less marked than in former times, avowals of large and intelligible principles are avoided; or they are considered as proofs of want of experience, or as evidence of a heated imagination. Another cause has tended to deaden all interest in public affairs, by lowering the interest felt in public men. Strong personal attachment for the leaders of a party—a generous enthusiasm in their behalf—often supplies the want of a higher principle, and renders party ties more binding as well as more graceful. These, unfortunately, are wanting. Our government has proved itself to be a government of false pretences. The mode in which their power was attained has deprived them of the confidence of their own party, and of the respect of all. The contrast between their professions and conduct is, indeed, wholly without parallel in English history. It has deprived them of strength, it has deprived them of popularity. Nor is this wonderful. Wherever bad faith has been justly imputed to public men by the British public, a loss of confidence has invariably followed. This is a glorious national characteristic. It was not the ultimate passing of the Emancipation Act which drove the government of 1829 from office; it was their previous encouragement, and disingenuous profession and countenance of principles exclusively Protestant. The deception was more loudly condemned than the apostasy. The failure of the Duke of Wellington, to form a cabinet in 1832, was not more immediately produced by the popular attachment to the Whigs and to their principles, than by the indescribable disgust excited by the announcement, that those who had been the most bitter enemies of Reform were, on the moment, prepared to carry a new and a more democratic Reform bill! Even in the far different case of Mr Canning's government of 1827, the weakness of that short-lived administration was owing, not only to the animosity of the Tories, and the irresolution of the Whigs, but to an impression, true or false, that a pledge against Roman Catholic emancipation had been extorted by the King from his new minister. But not one of these memorable instances can be viewed as on a par with the conduct of our present rulers; and at no time has any change of ministry produced so striking and so contrasted a change, as that exhibited between Conservative principles in Opposition and in office. Corn, Timber, and Sugar were the three ques-

tions on which Sir Robert Peel took his stand; and on these he has been compelled to legislate; but to legislate in a manner differing much more widely from the expectation of his friends, than from the principles of his opponents. He evidently felt greater difficulty in divesting himself of his own cloak, than in assuming that of his adversary. The weapons on which he relies, so far as he ventures to use them, are, in fact, all borrowed or taken from the Whig Armoury.

That the failure of his government has been complete, and its loss of influence rapid and unprecedented, may be proved from testimony the most unquestionable, namely, his own admission. On the 22d of June, Sir Robert Peel made the following remarkable declaration:—‘I cannot be insensible to the position in which we have been placed as far as concerns the progress in general legislation. I cannot help feeling that we have proposed measures, in the course both of the last session and of the present, in respect to which that progress has not been made which we think might have been made; *and which, not having been made, leaves us certainly in an unenviable position.* We must therefore, consequently, expect the same results at the close of the present session which were witnessed at the end of the last—namely, that we have presented measures connected with the internal policy of the government to the consideration of Parliament, *and had not been successful in obtaining their consent.* We cannot also conceal from ourselves, that in respect to some of the measures we have proposed, they have not met all that cordial support and agreement from those for whose character and opinions we entertain the highest respect. Our intentions also have been defeated in the House of Lords in regard to one measure, which, though but an isolated one, is still very important.’ Such was the humiliating confession made by a minister of the most boastful pretensions and promises, who on his accession to office commanded a parliamentary majority of ninety-two votes; and who had himself emphatically repeated the memorable declaration of Lord Melbourne, that ‘a weak government is the worst of all governments.’ Lord Dudley, in his Letters to the Bishop of Landaff, describes the Parliament of 1821 as one in which the Opposition out-debated Lord Liverpool’s government, and the Government out-voted the Opposition. The position of our Tory leaders has been even worse than this, for they have been both out-debated and out-voted in the same session.

Conclusive as is Sir Robert Peel’s authority when he gives evidence against himself and his party, it does not relieve us

from the task of examining more minutely the aspects and events of the session. What first strikes us is, the fact of the most bitter attacks against the government having all proceeded from their nominal supporters. Threats, reproofs, reproaches, bitter irony, insults the most aggravated, have in succession originated with their friends, not with their foes. The press has deserted them, with scarcely an exception. The very candidates whom they support, as at Birmingham and South Lancashire, were compelled at the hustings to forswear their political allegiance, and disclaim Sir Robert Peel's government, as vehemently as they disclaimed the new Poor-Law. This we attribute to a conviction, now widely spread, of the total abandonment of the great principles of political morality by our rulers; and of the irresistible evidence, afforded by themselves, of their injustice and insincerity in regard to their political opponents. But the degradation of the party in this case involves, as a consequence, the degradation of the members who compose it. The sacrifice of consistency by the leader, has carried with it the loss of reputation by individual members of parliament. The first might have been pardoned, the second never can. It is sufficiently deplorable to have been held up to ridicule as innocent dupes; but to be exposed to the indignation of deceived and irritated constituencies, as willing and active instruments in deceiving others, is infinitely worse. But ministers have gone further; having lowered their own party, they have proceeded to lower the dignity of Parliament itself. On two several occasions, and in respect to two important measures, the House of Commons has been constrained, by commands issued in the most imperious tone, to set aside its own previous votes and resolutions! This was done on the Factory bill. A similar course was pursued when the government was defeated on Mr Miles's motion. We are unwilling to trust ourselves to any commentary on these events, preferring to rely on the less suspicious testimony of a Tory chronicler.—‘About a month ago the House was called upon to rescind a motion of deep interest, and for the first time since the vote on the malt-tax, the House submitted to that process, which was regarded with so much mistrust. I cannot help thinking that some mysterious influence must have been at work to place us before the country in a position which no one can, I believe, *describe as other than degrading to us all*. I think the First Minister should deign to consult a little more the feelings of his supporters. I do not think he ought to drag them unreasonably through the mire. To call upon them to rescind one vote was enough

‘ Those gentlemen who manage the detail of party should draw up some tariff of parliamentary disgrace. We should be told ministers have gauged your parliamentary independence, and you have a semblance of freedom on this point; but the moment you go further, you must either submit to public disgrace, or we must retire into private life. The right honourable gentleman came forward with a detestation of slavery in every place except on the benches behind him. It was better that system should terminate. The minister deserved a better position than one which could only be preserved by menacing his friends, or cringing to his opponents.’

Such is the bitter statement made by one of those who were most forward in assisting the government to rise to power, on the overthrow of their Whig predecessors. We extract it not only as evidence of what is said by one, but of what is felt by very many. These differences of opinion were not visible during the gloom of opposition. They are made prominent by the sunshine of office. When the glorious luminary has sunk behind a mountain range, we can only trace one uniform surface and one general outline; when the hill-side is fully illuminated, every irregularity of form, every projecting rock, every deep ravine and sheltered cove, is made visible. Nor ought we to feel much surprise at the above strong language of complaint, nor at the more measured but scarcely less bitter reproofs administered by Lord Sandon to his friends. The pretensions advanced by the government to the allegiance of their party, were scarcely compatible with parliamentary independence, or with private honour. ‘ If the measure we propose is important, we demand your votes for the sake of the public; if it is unimportant, we demand them for our own. On great questions you must support our policy; on secondary questions your difference can only be construed as an act of determined hostility.’ What does this mean, and to what does it amount but a denial of all right of freedom of action to the supporters of the government? The same principle is involved in an argument lately addressed to the public by another partisan of the Cabinet, whose advocacy of the necessity of respecting private judgment in politics, and adopting the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, is only the more startling and offensive from being in a printed shape, and from assuming the solemnity of a philosophical abstraction. ‘ Is it not one of the lessons of the times,’—observes the author of the ‘ Ministry and the Sugar-duties,’—‘ that the sphere of the free agency of individuals forming part of popular assemblies is undergoing progressive contraction, and that whatever is now

‘meant by freedom it is not their privilege to increase their share of it. The functions of the state may in some respects be enlarged, but those of the persons who work its institutions generally grow less moral and more mechanical.’ It is not surprising that these principles and these practices, however they may succeed at a crisis, should have weakened the government, and weakened the attachment of their supporters.

It must not be considered that this condition of the Ministry is one only productive of weakness and inconvenience to themselves. We have already shown its mischievous operation on Parliament and on public opinion. But it produces other practical results equally injurious. In making the government powerless, it makes the legislature weak and imperfect. Let us refer to the fate of the Ecclesiastical Courts bill for an example. The importance of this measure has not been fully appreciated by the public; otherwise they would never have submitted to be made the victims of a cabal of interested individuals. We entreat the attention of our readers to the subject. Owing to legal distinctions, and claims not defensible, or even intelligible in modern times, important branches of our law—more especially those relating to marriage, to wills, to tithes, to church-rates, and to several heads of moral offences—have been exclusively confided to Ecclesiastical Courts. Under this system, questions the most difficult, and at times the most conflicting, arise. The disposition of real estates by will, is determined by one court; the distribution of personal property, by another. Even the protection of a common court of appeal is withheld. One cause is carried to the Privy Council; another to the House of Lords. Nay, the judgment of both tribunals may be required in respect to the same Will, and those judgments may be conflicting. But this is a small part only of the evil. Judges appointed, not by the Crown, but by authorities nearly irresponsible, are allowed to act and decide, without any Bar of qualified lawyers to arrest their proceedings and to protect private rights. An average of less than two causes in the year cannot give experience to a court; nor can a miserable pittance in the way of remuneration procure the services of an able judge. Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, are entrusted with judicial patronage or authority; and courts exist in three hundred peculiars, which might be despised as contemptible, if they were not felt to be mischievous. Even facility of access to their courts is wanting;—an advantage so much relied on when a measure of reform is to be resisted. From Penzance to Exeter is a hundred and twenty-one miles, and the Bishops’ courts of Carlisle, St David’s, and Chichester are sixty, seventy, and eighty miles from parts of the several dio-

cases! A monopoly exists in these courts, in favour of a select class of legal practitioners. The system is admitted to be one liable 'to mistakes and frauds from the rigid distinctness of 'jurisdiction which it maintains.' The 'impossibility of obtaining qualified judges is not denied.' It would be a mistake to imagine, that because these courts do not afford remuneration to the judges, they are therefore not burdensome to the suitor. It is shown, by an account rendered to Parliament, that the money cost of all this system of complicated injustice and folly is L.120,000—a larger sum than the salaries of all the Cabinet ministers, and of the Boards of Treasury, Admiralty, Ordnance, and Horse Guards taken together. All this has been exposed—all this has been condemned—and that too by the highest authority. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, many of the most learned and venerable prelates, the chief Judges and the most eminent Civilians, have united in recommending a full and adequate remedy; and the absolute and immediate abolition of all these courts, with the exception of one central tribunal to be maintained in the metropolis, was the reform suggested. A similar judgment has been subsequently pronounced by Committees both of Lords and Commons. Bills were introduced founded on these principles, to which three successive Chancellors, and all the law Peers, without exception, stood pledged. During the progress of these measures, that excellent man, the Chief Justice of England, who reflects as much dignity on his station as that station confers upon him, stated his personal knowledge of cases of abuse '*which would make men shudder;—instances in which absolute ruin was brought on families by the sentences of these courts.*' It was under the sanction of these high authorities that Lord Lyndhurst introduced a bill, in the late Session. But how lamentable was the disappointment produced by its enactments! The zeal of the reforming Lord Chancellor burned high and clear while sweeping away the smaller courts of the peculiars; but a spell seemed to have been thrown over him when he approached the Episcopal courts, and proposed to leave without check or remedy those distinct jurisdictions, which he had himself united with others in condemning. Why was this? How are we to account for this? We are convinced that there was not, because there could not be, any change of opinion. Indeed the only reason given for this miserable mutilation and curtailment of this measure of reform was, that the House of Commons would not pass a better measure. Here we find another pitiable admission of the weakness of the government: they did not dare to proceed according to their own judgment and conscience, but were compelled to cut down their reform, because public-mistrust had cut

down their majority. The measure failed in the House of Commons, and we rejoice at its failure. It would have been productive both of expense and of mischief. To leave an annual average of one cause and a fraction to be decided by each judge, and to appoint a Sergeant at Law or a Barrister of five years' standing for the performance of these functions, was an insult to the human understanding. But what was infinitely more objectionable than the mere expense, was the retention of the diocesan courts after the abolition of the peculiars. This would have rendered all future reform a work difficult, if not wholly impossible; and the newly appointed law functionaries would have been so many recruits enlisted in defence of the re-constructed, rather than amended ecclesiastical courts.

We must not pass to another subject without protesting in the strongest manner against the supposition that the House of Commons would not have been willing to pass a really good measure on this subject, had that measure been introduced, and earnestly supported by the government. To the principle of such a reform all the members of the late administration stood pledged—and to that principle all rational men must wish success.

We are well aware of the power exercised by country proctors and attorneys. When their columns advance, or their lines deploy, we know well how powerful is their charge on even a thoroughly disciplined parliamentary phalanx. But we feel confident that this opposition would be encountered and overcome, if the measure proposed were made worth the risk and sacrifice. But even if the House of Commons had been coerced by local influences to give an effectual opposition to an honest measure, (a supposition which we utterly deny,) it was equally unjustifiable, on the part of the government, to act on this assumption. If in this, as in another most important measure, (the Registration of Deeds,) the agency of country attorneys in influencing members of the House of Commons, through their constituents, is admitted to be all-powerful—why should not the House of Peers, freed as it is, or ought to be, from these unworthy influences, frame, year after year, well-considered remedial measures, relying for their ultimate success on the force of truth and the effects of discussion—thus vindicating for themselves a claim to the respect and gratitude of the public?

We set great stress upon Law Reform; but it must be undertaken both in a spirit of courage and earnestness, and of honesty. The talisman is broken if its powers are perverted for the promotion of any selfish interest. Improvement and jobbing ought not to be combined; and yet it would appear that such an attempt had been made, with but too much of success, in the Session of 1843. In that year a Bill was introduced for effecting reform in

the Court of Chancery, and for the regulation and abolition of certain legal offices. This Bill passed the House of Lords, and was read a first time in the Commons on the 29th of July. It passed through its several stages on consecutive days, and clauses were introduced in Committee on the 2d August, granting compensation to officers whose interests were affected by the proposed changes. The Bill was read a third time on the 5th August, when the compensation clauses first appeared in print. This would have been less objectionable, if the established precedents had been adhered to. On former occasions, and in acts introduced both by Lord Brougham and by Lord Cottenham, the Treasury had been called upon to exercise a control over the grant of judicial compensation. The same course was also adopted on the abolition of the Equity side of the Exchequer; but in respect to the late Chancery Bill, the clauses providing for the salutary control of the Treasury were omitted. What has been the result?—the unexampled increase of the compensations granted. The value of these annuities has been calculated at the prodigious sum of £1,300,000. Compensations are granted for fees, which, so far from being held as vested interests, were liable to be abolished at the pleasure of the Lord Chancellor. Compensations are continued after the deaths of the parties interested, and payable to their personal representatives; and burdens have been entailed on the public—for we consider the suitors' fund to belong to the public—as unexampled in magnitude as they are indefensible in principle. Whilst we are the steady friends of Law Reform, we need hardly say that, from measures such as we have just described, we earnestly hope we may in future be protected. We only regret that the same determination which made the fortunes of certain lucky officers of the Court of Chancery, was not exerted in the late Session for the benefit of the unfortunate suitors of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Is it only in a questionable cause that spirit and energy can be shown? And can it be true, that with the British Government, as in the State of the Houyhnhnms, it is necessary that a case should be made to appear as unjust as possible, to give it any chance of success?

Were it not that we should weary the attention of our readers, we could furnish—in the history of the Heritable Trusts Bill, abandoned by the Lord Chancellor; of the County Courts Bill, abandoned by Sir James Graham; of the mode in which the law of Debtor and Creditor, of Insolvency and Bankruptcy, has been dealt with—abundant evidence in confirmation of Sir Robert Peel's confession, that the 'government is left most certainly in 'an unenviable situation.'

We should be taxed with unfairness if we did not allude to

the Financial Measures of the Session. Great has been the honour claimed by the government, for their reduction of the interest of the public debt—their overflowing exchequer—their progressive reduction of customs' duties, and their renewal of the Bank Charter act. With regard to some of those measures, we are happy to admit their full right to the thanks of the public. It would, we must however observe, be preposterous to attribute to the present or to any government, a power of creating those peculiar circumstances which permit and facilitate the reduction of the interest of the public debt. They depend upon the general rate of interest, upon the credit of foreign countries as well as our own, upon the demand for our manufactures, and upon the facilities which exist of making profitable investments. A government might almost as well claim credit for the state of the atmosphere, and the changes from cloud to sunshine, as for a reduction of the interest of money. Besides, as a very depressed state of interest indicates also a very reduced rate of profits, and a consequent difficulty in employing capital, it may be doubted whether such a state of things is properly a fair subject of congratulation. The discredit into which many foreign securities had fallen, more especially in Spain, Portugal, and America—the check which the scandalous dishonesty of some of the repudiating Legislatures of the United States had given to the promotion of Transatlantic improvement by the resources of England—all contributed to the success of the measure first mentioned. Still, the government do not, on this account, deserve the less credit for the careful and successful manner in which they turned these and other advantages to account, in completing this great operation. They here showed in happy combination both caution and courage. In a transaction of such extraordinary magnitude, even had it been possible to have effected some additional saving, it would have been dearly purchased at the cost of giving rise to alarm or discredit. The ease and contentment of the holders of these securities, provided they be not purchased by any unreasonable sacrifice, form one of the most valuable considerations in all such arrangements. These have been secured by the judicious course adopted by the government; and recognizing this as a great public benefit, we are ready and willing to offer them our tribute of approval and thanks.

So far, again, as an overflowing Exchequer is concerned, that result is simply attributable to the imposition of a Property-Tax; a proposal which, in time of peace, and without an enlarged revision of our taxation, required some courage. It was, too, a proposal contrary to Sir Robert Peel's former declarations, but it was not the less likely to be right on that account. Neither was it the less likely to be recommended by him. The correctness of

the anticipations made by him on the 11th of March 1842, was disproved by his own acknowledgments in 1843; and the Treasury estimates of increase for the year ensuing, was under calculated by £2,700,000—the estimated expenditure being likewise erroneous to the amount of £450,000. The property of the country had augmented since the year 1815, in a ratio so greatly exceeding all calculation, that the tax of sevenpence in the pound has produced not only more than the Minister had calculated, but more than he judged to be necessary for the public service. This is the whole secret of the state of the balance sheet; and while we accept it in proof of the *increased wealth of the country*, it does not raise our estimate of the accuracy of the financier. We shall probably receive £26,000,000 from the Property-Tax in place of £11,000,000, the amount originally estimated by the government itself. We shall also receive some millions from China, which that government had deprived itself of all right to expect. Hence, and hence only, comes mainly the increasing resources of the Exchequer—a result for which no great credit is attributable to our rulers. In other respects, however, they are entitled to praise. The repeal of the import-duty on foreign wool, is not only important, as giving relief to a main branch of our manufacturing industry; by abandoning absolutely, and for ever, two fallacious principles, it prepares the way for a better course of legislation in other things. The duty on foreign wool was at once a protecting duty to our home produce, and a colonial discrimination. The government, proceeding, in this instance, practically and boldly in that course of free trade to which they had declared their assent *in the abstract*, have repealed at once the protection and the discrimination. Neither the wool-producers of England, nor those of Australia, will have any reason to complain of the change; and we cannot but hope that the result of this most useful lesson will not be lost upon Parliament, nor upon other classes who still cling to the false doctrines of protection; and who are led to believe that their own peculiar interests can be promoted by the sacrifice of the interests of the consumer, and of the public. The reduction of the duties on coffee was also wise and politic; and is entitled to the more praise, because in this, as in the former instance, a colonial discrimination was reduced one half, and a sound principle was vigorously and wisely applied.

If an adherence to the sliding-scale of corn-duties is accepted as a sufficient proof of devotion to the agricultural interest, the government have as yet been steady to their declarations. But in this respect they seem more pertinacious than the agriculturists themselves. The agricultural societies which have been established throughout England, under the auspices of the Duke of

Richmond, have been more cautious. They most scrupulously avoid pledging themselves to the maintenance of the present law; and seem to eschew all mention of the sliding-scale—unwilling to trust their weight to so rotten a plank. On the contrary, they petition generally for protection; or they petition for a protection not less than the present: every periphrasis is adopted to escape from making the slightest reference to the sliding-scale, or appearing to approve a system which has admitted into consumption 2,186,000 quarters of foreign wheat in July 1842—the average price being 55s. 4d.—while 5200 quarters only paid duty in February, at the average price of 60s. 4d. Even under the improved scale of Sir Robert Peel's Bill, this evil, though lessened, is far from being remedied. Between the 5th and 30th August of the present year, 440,000 quarters of foreign wheat paid duty and went into consumption; whilst in the month of January the quantity so admitted was only 3500 quarters. Yet the average price in August was lower than it was in January. It is thus demonstrated, that we are still cursed with a system, which—to give our government some semblance of consistency on a single question—limits our supplies of food when we most require it, and reserves that supply for the very moment when it is least useful to the consumer, and most injurious to the home grower! This system the government, and we may almost say, the government alone, are prepared to defend. They defend it with pertinacity; and in doing so they prevent every reasonable compromise, which, by adopting a moderate fixed revenue duty, might satisfy the free traders and the farmer—benefiting both alike by steadiness of trade, and consequent steadiness of price. They defend it at the hazard of the present interests of the agriculturists, who suffer the most from the state of uncertainty in which they are left. They thus produce and justify that agitation of which the Anti-Corn-Law League is the organ and the consequence. They are, in this respect, the most effectual allies of Messrs Cobden and Bright. In taking this course they greatly multiply the supporters of the doctrine of the total and immediate repeal of the corn-laws. The tendency of their conduct is to narrow all discussion to the single question—whether we shall maintain the existing corn-law as it stands, or entirely repeal it. On this subject we entreat the agriculturists to weigh well the following observations by Lord Howick, in his late powerful speech on the Corn-Laws, mentioned at the head of this article.—‘I have never concealed my opinion,’ he observes, ‘that whenever this shall be the only alternative offered to me, I should have no doubt in giving my preference to the absolute repeal of the present law. I greatly doubt whether

‘the government have really served the agricultural interest in bringing the question to this point; but since they have done so, and have altogether rejected any compromise, I am thus driven to make my choice between two extreme propositions, and that choice will unhesitatingly be given in favour of absolute repeal.’ Such is the judgment pronounced by one of the most acute and strong-minded statesmen of the day; and if this judgment is correct, it proves that in this—the only question on which the government even affect to maintain their consistency—they add to the strength of extreme opinion, and impede any amicable settlement of a question imperatively requiring the reconciliation of the opposing interests, and a check to be put to that conflict of classes—to that jealousy and violence—which has unhappily overspread the land.

How far the judgment, or the sincerity of those leaders may be relied on by their agricultural friends, has very recently received a curious illustration. It will be recollected what pains were taken, in discussing the Canada Corn-Bill, to remove the apprehensions of the agricultural members in reference to the consequence of that measure. It was described by ministers as an act that would lead to no extensive increase of supply; and even the acuteness and local knowledge of Lord Ashburton were applied, to negative the authority of Lord Sydenham, the Earl of Durham, and Mr Joshua Bates. We have now before us accounts of the importation from Canada of wheat and flour during the first eight months of the years 1843 and 1844; and they exhibit the following most satisfactory results. The exportation of wheat has, in this short period, increased from 15,000 to 237,000 bushels; and the export of flour from 50,000 barrels to 307,000. We do not complain of this result, which justifies our anticipations. On the contrary, we hail it as an unmixed good. But it is a curious proof, that even when a ministerial measure turns out to be right, the arguments by which it was originally defended, and the statements of fact on which it was founded, are shown to have been both without any sufficient foundation.

We must not omit to do justice to the conduct of the government in respect to the renewal of the Bank Charter. Parliamentary enquiries, wisely commenced by their predecessors, in anticipation of the time of necessary legislation—evidence given by men equally eminent from their experience and their scientific knowledge—the discussion of the same subjects in publications of great merit—prepared the way for well-considered legislation. All the materials necessary to form a correct judgment were provided—in a word, all the principles on which the Charter should be renewed, had been carefully discussed. Of these advantages the

government fully availed themselves; though without that generous acknowledgment, to the true authors of these measures, which policy as well as justice required. No accomplishment is more useful to a public man, than that of being able to command, on behalf of the public, the ability and experience of eminent men, who neither are in, nor have any ambition to enter the public service. A wise statesman should endeavour to keep himself in such a relation to this most important class, as to be enabled to reckon on their ready and earnest co-operation, on important occasions, when he has a right to seek it. But to secure this result, services, when rendered, should be frankly and generously acknowledged. But the proposers of the Bank Charter Bill never once alluded to (Mr Jones Loyd) the real author of the measure.

Whilst we consider this measure to be most important, and whilst we believe that it will go far towards diminishing the intensity, and preventing the recurrence of monetary derangements, we are not free from apprehensions respecting one possible consequence. We agree with Mr Huskisson, that the case of an internal drain for gold is totally different from that of a foreign demand; or, in other words, an unfavourable foreign exchange. And as the two cases differ, so also should the remedies. A foreign demand for gold, and an unfavourable exchange, will be remedied appropriately by a diminution of the quantity of money in circulation. An internal drain may arise from political alarm, from commercial discredit, or from the necessity of realizing securities in order to meet pecuniary engagements. Now, in this case, unlike the former, a diminution of the circulating medium will tend to increase the evil in place of checking it. We admit that the probabilities of an internal drain will be greatly diminished under the new system. But it can hardly be denied that the evil may occur; and when such is the case, that which is proposed as a remedy will prove an aggravation of the disease.

We wish much that we could extend equal praise to the new scale of Sugar Duties. On this question, as on the sliding scale, the government had, most unfortunately for them, committed themselves, in their intense eagerness to discredit and to overthrow their political opponents. They had endeavoured to persuade the public that no very great advantages could result from a reduction of the duties on this article. But fearing that in this respect their arguments might fail, and that cheap sugar might be considered of some small importance to the consumer, they poorly condescended to raise the anti-slavery cry against the government of Lord Melbourne. We should have thought that, from very shame, they would have shrunk from so unworthy an expedient. Where are the men who can, in conscience, presume to attribute to the Whig party any indifference to the great cause of

Africa? Can any honest and right-minded man so stigmatize the party who abolished the slave-trade, who, from 1806 to 1839, steadily supported, or boldly proposed, every measure which could improve the condition of the Negro race? Can we suspect of any insensibility on this subject, the authors of that noble scheme which has freed British territory and dominion throughout the world from the pollution of Slavery? Was there ever known in the history of mankind an imputation so meanly and audaciously cast upon political opponents, to serve a selfish party interest? And this charge was made at a time when, mainly through the persevering efforts of the British government, the importation of slaves into Cuba had been diminished from 40,000 in 1835, to 14,000 in 1840, and when the same detestable traffic had been reduced in the Brazils from 94,000 in 1838, to 14,470 in 1840! In the face of these unquestionable facts, an appeal was made to the ever-generous, but, in this instance, misled and misdirected feelings of the people. We may well say to those who propagated such calumnies, and profited by this delusion—‘Verily, they have their reward.’ The fetters of the African are scarcely heavier, and are certainly less ignominious, than those which Lord Sandon and his supporters forged for their political leaders, and which are now coiled round their limbs in restraint of all freedom of action. It is not surprising that an advocate of the government should have taken as the motto for his defence of them and their sugar duties, ‘*surgit amari aliquid*’—for never was a draught so bitter as that which they are condemned to drain. What is the principle on which they have taken their stand, at least for the time? The establishment of a differential duty, as between foreign free-grown and slave-grown sugars. May we respectfully ask—Did the differential duties which it is sought to maintain, originate in motives of humanity? We unhesitatingly and firmly say, No. They sprang from a very different source. We trace their origin to the planter’s profits, and not to the interest of the slave. It is true, that so long as our colonies produced an excess of sugar, sold on the continent of Europe, these discriminating duties were defeated in their operation, and English prices were ruled by the foreign market. It is, therefore, at the precise moment when this distinction is most mischievous, that it is now defended and enforced! To what purpose is it enforced, let us ask? Is it to compel the Brazils and Cuba to enter into treaties binding them to abolish the slave-trade? This had been already done. Lord Palmerston informs us, in his admirable speech of 16th July—that ‘Spain and Brazil have contracted with us engagements, in the most solemn form and of the most stringent character, binding them to prevent their subjects from carrying on the slave-trade, directly or indirectly.

‘ They have promulgated severe laws against the slave-trade in pursuance of these engagements ; and we have a right to insist that these laws shall be carried into execution.’ ‘ If these laws were enforced,’ he continues, ‘ the Cuba and Brazil slave-trade would soon be at an end.’ The statement, therefore, that we are to wait the issue of new negotiations and new treaties, may suit that subterfuge policy which seeks an excuse to justify an alteration of opinion ; but the artifice is too shallow and transparent long to deceive any but the weak and the unwary. Yet we have seen not only some of the second-rate Exeter Hall performers caught by this pretext, but some also of those excellent men who have been consistent and steady abolitionists throughout the great struggle. Men who in former times contended that slavery was not only the most criminal, but the most expensive method of cultivation, now ask for protection, as being rendered necessary and just by the increased cost of free labour. Men who proclaim the worse than inutility of our former efforts, call on us to adhere to the most senseless parts of our old colonial system. Men who know full well that we now carry on a trade in slave-grown sugar in all the markets of Europe—that we readily refine that sugar in London and Liverpool—that we consume it in Jamaica and Barbadoes—yet delude themselves into the belief, that our morality is to be made dependent on geographical limits. They have also shut their eyes to the demonstrable, nay, obvious fact, that, in withdrawing for our use any portion of sugar from the continental market, we must inevitably raise the price of what remains, and thus enhance the demand for the produce of slavery, as surely as if that produce were consumed more directly by ourselves.

These absurdities cannot be much longer adhered to ; not only the sophistry by which they are defended having been so fully exposed in both Houses of Parliament, but in an excellent Pamphlet on the subject, lately published by Mr Macgregor Laird. Indeed we see preparations already made for descending, by some sliding-scale, from that high ground on which the Tory tents had originally been planted. ‘ The present government are bound, under the penalty of deep disgrace, to regard, in their choice of a course, the avoidance, by every rational and practicable means, of encouragement to slavery and the slave-trade. This may not appear any very definite pledge, although it states most strongly that penalty which we conceive to have been already incurred ; for the measure which comes into operation almost immediately, is irreconcilable, by any process of reasoning, with the principles to which our assent has been demanded. As conclusive on the subject, we shall apply, with a few altera-

tions, a formula furnished to us by Mr. Gladstone himself. Our alterations by no means interfere with its very precise and logical construction. The admission of any portion of foreign sugar into the British market, means the creation of a new demand for all foreign sugar, whether slave-grown or free-grown, and a consequent addition to its ordinary price. Addition to its ordinary price, means extension of its cultivation. The extension of its cultivation, means the importation of new slaves from Africa; and this effect is equally produced, whether the sugar withdrawn from the continental market is slave or free produce. We give this as the argument of the government, not as our own; but we defy any one to show in what respect the reasoning does not apply equally to the measure which they proposed and carried in 1844, and to that which they rejected in 1841. It is, however, evident that we are to prepare for other and greater changes. The next year will produce a new, and what will profess to be, a permanent measure. In the Pamphlet attributed to Mr. Gladstone, and to which we have before referred, the colonial planters are significantly informed, that ‘adequate* and ‘efficient protection, or a premium at the public expense, may ‘have the tendency to enervate commercial enterprise, to withdraw the natural motives to economy, and to the introduction ‘of judicious improvements; and, by keeping particular descriptions of industry in that kind of hot-house atmosphere, to incapacitate them from enduring even those variations of the weather without doors which are healthful to a healthy constitution.’ We do not estimate so lightly the acuteness of Mr. Miles and his friends, as to doubt their power of extracting the meaning of the government from these metaphors. If it means any thing—if it is not an entire delusion, which we do not think so ill of the government as to believe—it promises to the public a more abundant and a cheaper supply of sugar, to be attained by a further reduction of duty; in which, as a return of good for evil, the Board of Trade will allow the British Plantations to participate; but which reduction of duty must be accompanied by some enlargement of the sources of supply, obtained, we must presume, in such a manner as to protect her Majesty’s government from ‘that penalty of deep disgrace’ to which Mr. Gladstone has alluded with such conscious sensibility. But how this is to be effected—by what production of correspondence from the Foreign Office, by what new treaties it is to be justified, with what classification of sugars and graduation of duty it is to

be accompanied—it is no part of our present business to enquire. We have endeavoured to show, and we think we have shown, that on the subject of the sugar duties, as in so many other instances, the errors of the government can only be attributable to their former want of sincerity and good faith. Their punishment has been severe. Punished by the desertion of their friends, and by an adverse vote in the House of Commons, they were still more humbled by their nominal victory. They who had so often, and so proudly and so loudly, condemned the practice of taking support from men of opposite or differing politics—they who had reproached the Whigs for availing themselves of the votes of English Radicals or Irish Repealers—now undeniably owe their preservation to the Anti-Corn-law League!

The sugar duties, though deeply affecting our colonies, are still to be viewed as a provincial and commercial, rather than as a colonial measure. Their origin must be sought at the Treasury or the Board of Trade. We should, therefore, look elsewhere for proofs of the success of Lord Stanley's colonial administration. The duty of honourable abstinence from party contention where the public interests are really involved, has, we feel confident, been the cause that the government of Canada, both in Downing Street and at Quebec, has been dealt with in a spirit of unexampled forbearance. The gentle spirit of Sir C. Bagot has been allowed to rest in peace; and the feelings of his friends and family have not been outraged by attacks on his memory. The efforts of Sir Charles Metcalfe to discharge duties as difficult as they are important, have not been frustrated by uncandid commentary, or by unjustifiable attack. We admire and we follow this example. Though the cases in which the Colonial Office has been brought into notice have not been numerous, they have not left on the public mind any very satisfactory impression. It appears unintelligible why the privilege of exporting grain at a nominal duty, already conceded to the agriculturists of Canada, and in a qualified manner to the United States also, should have been refused to the Australian farmer. It appears still more incomprehensible how, from a tribunal of his own appointment, and consisting for the most part of his political friends, Lord Stanley should have been forced to endure a rebuke the most unqualified. 'A body of British settlers are at this moment giving ground for very serious anxiety, while the lives of several of their number have been unfortunately sacrificed; these unhappy results have, moreover, been connected with differences which have arisen not only between the settlers and the colonial authorities, but also between the New Zealand Company and the

'executive government at home.' Such is the Report adopted by a friendly Committee; and perhaps it was this result which suggested that witty, but not very flattering, likeness discovered between the Colonial Secretary and Prince Rupert, who, it is said, always, after his most hot and eager charges, found his camp in possession of the enemy. The complaints of the New Zealand Company were loud; but louder still have been the remonstrances of the West Indians on the subject of emigration. In this instance, also, the difficulties of the government have been enhanced by former unwise declarations; and by the objections they had raised to every attempt to provide the planters with labourers, and the hill coolies with labour.

If the adverse Report of a Parliamentary Committee, and the neglect of West Indian interests, have diminished the political strength and Parliamentary reputation of the government, how much more severe has been the blow struck by the conduct of their late Governor-general of India! On two separate occasions, Lord Ellenborough had acted with reputation as President of the Board of Control. He was considered to possess the confidence of the Court of Directors; and, from his long connexion with the members of Sir Robert Peel's government, he could not have felt any mistrust of their full and unhesitating support. His intimacy with the Duke of Wellington had also been so close, and even so great an advantage, that the public fully expected that, in all military steps, he would be governed by the counsels of the first warrior alive. The apprehensions of war, natural in themselves, though somewhat unduly felt, and certainly most unfairly excited, led the public to approve of his promises of a pacific policy in India. An efficient army, headed by gallant and experienced men, was placed at his disposal. Such were his advantages. From the outset of his government, however, he seems to have lost all power of self-command, and all real capacity for administration. His first proclamation seemed rather a paltry attack upon his predecessor, and an antithetical exposition of his own merits, than any fixed declaration of well-considered principle. Such as it was, however, it was contradicted by his own subsequent conduct. Having announced the most pacific intentions, he engaged in wars in which success has been attained at enormous risk and loss. Having declared his resolution to keep our empire within what he was pleased to term its *natural* boundaries, and to set limits to all future conquests, he conquered Scinde and reduced Gwalior—justifying new wars by reference to obsolete or non-existing treaties. He endangered the discipline of the very army which he had endeavoured to conciliate, by means the least

prudent and justifiable; while he at the same time disgusted that able and meritorious class, the civil servants of the Indian government. Even the generosity of the Duke of Wellington could only defend the absurd burlesque of the gates of Somnauth, by taking Lord Ellenborough's proclamation out of the category of works subject to European criticism, and designating it by the appropriate title of a 'song of triumph.' The powers of endurance of the Leadenhall Street Statesmen at length gave way; and, notwithstanding their strong and undisguised political preferences, the Governor-general was recalled by their unanimous vote. The immediate cause is as yet unexplained; it remains to be seen whether the official correspondence, hitherto withheld, but which the late Governor-general cannot fail to produce in his own defence, will remove the impression arising from these extraordinary occurrences. Lord Ellenborough's recall has unquestionably lessened the power and the authority of the government which had appointed, but which did not dare to defend him. Nor has this effect been in any degree mitigated by the harsh censures pronounced on the Court of Directors, for their most reluctant performance of a painful and invidious duty; nor yet by the confession, that the Governor-general had been permitted to continue absolute ruler of a hundred millions of British subjects, for months after a judgment of his utter unfitness had been pronounced by the court to which he was amenable!

It cannot but be present to the recollection of our readers, how frequently the Whig Foreign Policy was made a subject of the most vehement party contest, and this at the hazard of the interests of England, and the peace of Europe. At one period, the favourite Tory accusation was, that the reforming ministry of England had sacrificed the honour of their country, to partialities for what was then termed a kindred government in France. The tricolor flag—the monarchy of the barricades—were held up to scorn and hatred. Only a little later, MM. Molé and Thiers were taken successively under the special protection of the Opposition; and Lord Palmerston was reproached with having culpably abandoned the French alliance. A lease taken by France of a plot of ground in Minorca, sufficiently large to provide a site for a naval hospital, and no more, was described as a forfeiture of our power in the Mediterranean; and a mistake respecting a post-office packet, was alleged to be a cause in justification of war. When reasonable explanations were either given or accepted on either side, this was held to be a surrender of our honour; and when our arms were triumphant at St Jean d'Acre, and all Europe, with the exception of the French war party,

gave credit to the sagacity and good faith of our diplomatic counsels, and admitted their entire success, Lord Palmerston's policy was censured by his political opponents as rash, insulting, and aggressive. Even venerable Law Peers proposed that our commercial disputes with Naples should be settled by the guns of a line-of-battle ship. War, we were assured, was inevitable; and, at the same time, pains were patriotically taken to prove to Europe that the British Navy was weak and disabled. When it was shown that the number of our ships was greater than had ever before been maintained afloat under similar circumstances, we were assured that those ships were so inadequately manned, that they must fall a prey to the first hostile struggle. Vainly was it demonstrated, that the equipment and armament of our ships, and the strength of their crews, were greater than had been provided at the Nile and Trafalgar; vainly was the unprecedented skill displayed by our forces in Syria, pointed out as evidence the most undeniable of our naval superiority. At the very time when the ambition of an arbitrary sovereign had been foiled in the East, and the hollow and false pretences of an ambitious and unscrupulous minister had been counteracted and exposed elsewhere—at the time when the power of our arms was not more clearly shown forth than our moderation and good faith—it was asserted, for party purposes, that our national influence as a member of the European confederacy was gone—entirely gone. Looking back to the most brilliant epochs in our history, we do not see a single period at which the Foreign Policy of England had exercised a more powerful influence over other nations, than during the ten years from 1831 to 1841. This influence was not more powerful than it was salutary. No mean or selfish motives appeared to have perverted our policy—no low timidity, to have restrained our freedom of action. The love of liberty and the love of peace guided our counsels.

We are almost fearful of contrasting the present state of our foreign relations with that in which they were found by the Tory Foreign Secretary. The unjustifiable nature of the outrage offered to England at Tahiti, has been admitted by the first minister of the Crown. It has been also admitted that this outrage requires the fullest reparation. A Prince of the blood-royal of France has been entrusted with the conduct of the most important and delicate naval operations—the Prince de Joinville's immediate claim to such appointment seeming to be the publication of a Manifesto against England, the most malignant and insulting. The war with Morocco—the bombardment of Tangiers—the destruction of Mogadore, have followed in rapid succession. Now, we venture to ask all reasonable and thinking

men, whether they believe that any one of these events would have occurred, had the spirit and energy of Lord Palmerston's policy continued to animate the Foreign Office? So vehement had been the declamations of the Conservatives, against what they were pleased to term our intermeddling with the affairs of the Continent, that it is not surprising Foreign Courts should now feel themselves free to act as they please. The result has been a series of movements, all tending to endanger the repose of Europe—exasperating the military spirit of France to the utmost, and exposing the two countries, the most deeply interested in the preservation of peace, to the risk of war. This danger has not been so much produced by the minatory and turbulent spirit of the war party in France, as by the low tone taken on behalf of England. If the imprisonment of Mr Pritchard is alluded to, we are assured, that at the time of his captivity he was no longer our Consul—as if every English subject was not entitled to protection;—as if, too, a foreign government can be permitted, by injustice, to compel our agent to suspend his functions; and as if that government, taking advantage of its own wrong, can afterwards deny to that British Agent the respect which is his privilege and his right. The same vacillating arguments have been used in respect to Morocco. On the first French attack by land, we were informed that this event gave us no cause for reclamation, as it was a mere pursuit of Abdel Kader; but that, if Tangiers were attacked, the connexion between that town and Gibraltar rendered our interference inevitable. On this encouragement, Tangiers was attacked; when our tone was again altered, and we declared our resolve to overlook the bombardment, and to reserve our wrath for any occupation, by France, of Moorish territory. Well, again, as if to bring our resolution to a trial, the French actually occupy an island at Mogadore; but on the instant it is discovered that this step is not the peculiar species of occupation against which we had entered our protest; and the same indulgent forbearance which palliated the bombardment and destruction of the fortresses and towns of Morocco, is now generously extended as an apology for the military occupation of the territory of our ally. How far is this system to be carried? We see no greater risk to the peace of the world, than the adoption of the 'sliding-scale' of apologetic concession.

We do not wish to dwell on the state of the naval power of England at the commencement of these transactions: we are unwilling to do more than to remind our readers that the much-abused Whigs left eighteen ships of the line in commission, and that, in July last, these eighteen ships were by their successors reduced to nine; that of these nine, two were in the

East Indies, one on the West Indian station, one under orders for the Pacific, one ship at each of our home ports, one at Cork ; the ninth ship, as Lord Minto sarcastically stated, constituting our Mediterranean fleet ! Such were the preparations made by the government to defend the lives and fortunes of the Queen's subjects, and to sustain the honour and dignity of the British name and flag. We fully believe, that if the national interests should at any time require the effort, the navy and army will prove themselves as competent as they were at Trafalgar and Waterloo to vindicate the national reputation. But it is to render any such necessity as improbable as we should consider it deplorable, that we deprecate the feeble tone taken by the Foreign Office, and the unpardonable reduction of our naval force in the Mediterranean. It is as ever warm and constant lovers of peace that we could have wished to impress on France and the world a consciousness that we do not fear war, and that we are prepared to meet it. Jealous of the character of our country, we think that the language of moderation would not have been the less impressive, if it had always been spoken in a tone of firmness and resolution. To impress on the world a steadfast faith in our determination, we must show that we possess sufficient courage and strength to enforce it. We learn, however, from the Queen's speech at the close of the session, that ' we have been engaged in discussions ' with the French government, on events calculated to interrupt ' the good understanding and friendly relations between this ' country and France ; but that, by the spirit of justice and ' moderation which has actuated the two governments, this danger ' has been happily averted.' This oracular communication fully confirms our previous anticipations of danger to the peace of the world ; and that at a time when it is undeniable that our naval strength had been reduced to an unprecedented, and, we must add, unjustifiable degree. How far we may rely on Lord Aberdeen's assurance, that this danger has been averted by ' justice ' and moderation,' remains to be proved. We believe that we possess the joint personal security of two very wise and able men for the maintenance of tranquillity during the ministry of the one, and the reign of the other. But their earnest wishes and desires cannot, we are convinced, be more powerfully promoted than by convincing all parties that England cannot be assailed with impunity ; that she fears no surprise, and is as strong as she is pacific.

It would appear as if the government, though somewhat tardily, are now acting on a different policy. Whilst the danger, which the Queen's speech admits, still existed, our naval force was neglected ; but now, when we are assured that all danger is

over, the dockyards are put in a state of activity, and our advanced ships are brought forward. We doubt not but that, when the peace of the world is permanently established, we shall have the satisfaction of learning we have a strong fleet at sea, and that we are replaced in that commanding position in which we were left by Lord Melbourne's government!

Our prospects elsewhere do not seem such as to afford us much consolation for the uncertain state of our relations with France. That influence which, through the government of Espartero, performed so much, and promised so much more for the good of England and Spain, is lost. Our negotiations with the Brazils have failed. Our remonstrances with the Prussian government have degenerated into an undignified altercation, where mutual reproaches, not wholly undeserved on either side, are angrily exchanged. In the United States, the question of the Oregon boundary still remains as a loaded mine ready for explosion, whenever a contest for the Presidential Chair may render such an event expedient for sectional interests. Had a more elevated tone been taken in Parliament since the change of government, and, above all, had the Tory party shown more of real patriotism and candour before that event, we cannot but think that English influence would have been augmented from year to year, and that we might have been relieved from all apprehensions for the preservation of peace.

If, under this dispiriting view of mistakes, omissions, and failures, the acts of the government had enabled us to look on the state of Ireland with satisfaction or confidence, we should be ready to forgive and to forget much that has been amiss. For, as far as our interests are concerned, no other questions can be compared with those which affect the well-being of Ireland, and the contentment of the Irish people. On no other foundation than the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, can the strength and security of the Empire be permanently established. Our general opinions on this subject have been so often and so strongly expressed, that we need not repeat them here. But late events cannot be passed over without some notice.

It cannot be forgotten how fiercely the Tories, when in Opposition, denounced the elective franchise of Ireland. The fraudulent multiplication of votes by repealing attorneys—the perjuries committed by the voters themselves—the conflicting decisions of registering Barristers and Judges—the coercion of the Priests—and the destruction of what was called the just influence of the landlords—such were the complaints and accusations repeatedly made, and on these was Lord Stanley's Registration Bill founded. The immediate introduction of some remedy for these alleged evils, was expected as the first and necessary consequence of the change

of ministry. Yet three Sessions were allowed to pass, during which nothing was done. To propose Lord Stanley's bill, or one founded on similar principles, was found to be impossible. Responsibility became a great teacher of wisdom. To propose a bill, founded upon opposite principles, appeared too daring an inconsistency. Time was accordingly taken to enable Parliament to judge calmly, and, if possible, to forget all past declarations. When the subject formed part of the recommendation given to the House in February last, to the astonishment and perplexity of the world, and to the dismay of the Irish Tories, all mention of fraud, perjury, or priestly tyranny was omitted; and a revision of the laws of registration was recommended, with a view to the extension of the franchise. But the greater the astonishment produced by the recommendation, the greater also was the anxiety to see the proposed bill. The effect of Lord Eliot's measure was miraculous. It produced, for the time, a most marvellous agreement between all classes of politicians. Whigs, Tories, Repealers, Orangemen, united in condemning the measure of the government. The bill contemplated the extinction of 25,000 out of 40,000 leasehold voters, upon the expiration of their existing registrations; it provided for the creation of a new class of electors occupying tenements rated at L.30; and introduced an additional franchise, founded on the possession of a perpetual interest in real property, to the amount of L.5. To this novel franchise, no condition of residence was annexed. The effect of these changes was described very differently by the different parties; but the one thing which was admitted on all sides, was, that the Irish Secretary and the English Cabinet were alike ignorant of the effect of their own measure; and were unprepared, or incompetent, to defend, or even to explain it. The bill was therefore withdrawn; and with it was also abandoned a kindred measure, the Municipal bill, which soon after appeared, among the other casualties of the session, in the list of killed, wounded, and missing.

The question of Irish registration must not, however, be so lightly passed over. Lord Stanley's unpopular and most indefensible measure, had contributed as much as Mr O'Connell's speeches to excite agitation, and to create mistrust of the intentions of Parliament—thus strengthening the cry for Repeal. A really honest measure for the improvement of the franchise, would have produced an opposite and a most salutary effect. We believe that Lord Eliot's measure was honestly meant by the government. Sir Robert Peel affirmed, without hesitation or reserve, the absolute necessity of establishing a substantial equality between the electoral franchise of the two countries. It is impossible to over-estimate the constitutional

importance of this admission. If the principle is carried into full operation, many of the most obvious political causes of discontent will be removed. We have advisedly said, a substantial equality rather than an identity of franchise; because an actual identity cannot be produced, where the state of real property differs so widely as it does in the two countries. As an example, the rights of copyhold and customary tenants are important in the one country; the rights of the lessees for lives, renewable for ever, and of possessors of similar interests, are important in the other. The habits and opinions of England may render safe and expedient a L.5 franchise, without the condition of actual occupation; whilst, in Ireland and Scotland, the same franchise may be shown to lead to an indefinite manufacture of fraudulent votes by ingenious attorneys and partizan landlords, wholly subversive of the rights of independent freeholders. We have given these examples, out of many, to prove that equality rather than identity is to be aimed at. It was also argued, that, in seeking to destroy an undue influence on the part of the Priests, care should be taken not to restore the tyrannical powers of the Landlords. This we fully admit. In contending for the freedom of election, the one domination is objectionable, in our eyes, as well as the other. But it should be remembered, that these two agencies act upon very opposite principles. The Priest, in most cases, agrees with the voter, whom he urges to follow his own convictions and natural inclinations: the Landlord's authority is frequently used in opposition to both. We admit that there is great difficulty in deciding upon the best principle for the basis of the Irish elective franchise. On the one hand, if the franchise is made to depend on lease, the landlord, by withholding that lease, may annihilate the franchise. On the other hand, if tenants at will are permitted to vote, it is argued that they must yield to the dictation of their lessor. In order to make out this latter argument, it ought, however, to be proved that the illegitimate influence of a landlord may not be exercised as mischievously over a small tenant holding by lease, as if that tenant held at will. We doubt this. Tyranny and intimidation will devise means for the accomplishment of their own bad purposes, even where a lease is granted. Oppressive covenants may be introduced and enforced; privileges of manure and of fuel, essential to the tenants' welfare, may be omitted in the leases; they may be left uncertain, or, if granted at will, may be withdrawn. All this may be done with the purpose of controlling the free agency of the voter. The danger of a tenancy at will, on the one side, is the possible intimidation of the voter; the danger of the leasehold qualification, on the other, is the annihilation of the vote. The latter appears to us the greater

risk of the two, because it can be practised with less observation, and with greater impunity. We state these points, rather than undertake to decide them. We differ, we are aware, from high authorities; but, in respect to the creation of the new L.5 franchise, disconnected from the occupation of land, we are persuaded that all rational men are of one mind. No change can be proposed so pregnant with danger and with discontent, and so fatally subversive of all constitutional freedom in Ireland.

We cannot help thinking that the real solution of these difficulties will be found in making the payment of local taxation, as an evidence of the occupation of real property to a given moderate rated value, the basis of the Irish electoral system. This might allow the existing system of registration, odious and vexatious as it is, to be wholly dispensed with. The rate book would be the book of registration. The collector's receipt for rates would be the test of qualification. The identity of the voter, and his continued occupation of the rated premises, would be the only matters of fact brought into question. The survey and valuation made under the authority of the Ordnance, and the surveys for the poor's rate, might be adopted, or so modified as to meet this purpose. The frauds of landlords and tenants would be checked; above all, the inducement to perjury consequent upon a system which, contrary to the general principle of law, makes the right of the claimant dependent on his own oath, would be effectually corrected.

Important as the registration bill is justly considered, it dwindles into utter insignificance when compared with the Irish, State Trial and its results. It constitutes the most prominent, and perhaps the most important branch of the policy of the present government. During the session, the judicial proceedings still pending in the Irish Courts, and subsequently in the House of Lords, rendered all parliamentary discussion on the subject imperfect and inexpedient. We are now freed from all such reserve; and may be permitted to review with freedom a prosecution the most extraordinary and impolitic, attended with a failure the most unexampled, and, we might almost add, the most ludicrous, that the judicial annals of any country presents—exhibiting, from first to last, an unprecedented instance of a want of discretion and practical wisdom.

To institute criminal proceedings against the leaders of an excited people, to bring them before a court of justice, to submit their case to a jury, and to inflict upon them when convicted the full measure of punishment awarded for the imputed offence, was, we admit, a resolution indicative of vigour and determination. We are far from undervaluing these qualities if applied for the enforcement of a just and wise measure, and in

performance of a public duty. But such a prosecution becomes a fatal mistake, if it appears that the principles of justice have not been scrupulously adhered to—if every legal and equitable claim made on behalf of those accused has not been liberally and generously conceded—if care has not been taken to prevent any undue sympathy from being called forth on their behalf. In such a case even popular feelings and prejudices should not be overlooked; and the probabilities and consequences of success or failure should have been deliberately weighed. Now, whilst we think, and have ever thought, that the course pursued by the Repealers in 1843 was wholly indefensible—whilst we admit that an attempt to intimidate by the display of physical force endangers good order and tranquillity; and that any attempt to create a military organization without legal authority and responsibility, and for the attainment of political objects, is contrary to law, and becomes a just object of prosecution and punishment—we still think that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to combine, in one single act, a greater number of unpardonable errors than have been committed by the Irish government, and its law advisers, in the management of the memorable trial to which we allude. Month after month had been allowed to pass, during which meetings the most formidable, and speeches the most seditious, had been tolerated. The government continued silent and passive. No step was taken, no intimation was given, that these proceedings would ever be dealt with as criminal. It is true that some country Justices were summarily removed from the commission of the peace; but this was done in a manner which, if it did not lead to an implied belief that the acts of the Repealers kept within the limits of the law, cautiously abstained from asserting that those acts were illegal. If these meetings were illegal as well as dangerous, and if a prosecution was meditated, some warning was surely requisite. We thought at the time, and still think, much was to be said in defence of the forbearance of the government. But they ought to have been consistent in that forbearance. This, however, was not their course of policy. On a sudden, and in a manner to give to the Clontarf proclamation the appearance of a trap to the unwary, rather than of a warning to the well disposed, a meeting for which preparations had been allowed to be openly made, was prohibited. The prohibition was at once obeyed, not only with an ostentatious promptitude, but with an active readiness, which the delay of the government made indispensable for the preservation of the public peace. Ireland was astonished at seeing the position of the two parties reversed,—the popular leaders becoming the protectors of life and property, which the delays and the rashness of the government had exposed to peril.

The prosecution followed. The offence imputed was not one which had been recently committed, and which all reasonable men would have united in condemning. It comprehended all those acts which, during successive months, had been tolerated, and almost justified by the acquiescence of the government. A more perfect case of *condonation* could not be easily figured. Indictments of unexampled length and complexity were framed, including at once popular leaders, popular writers, popular priests, and editors of popular journals. Well might the Lord Chief-Justice of England ask indignantly, 'What mind could comprehend indictments, technically framed, and 'consisting of fifty-eight sheets of paper?' The offence charged was not that of seditious words, or seditious meetings, but the offence of a conspiracy proved on evidence, which, if admitted, brought into jeopardy every principle of civil liberty. Newspapers, which it does not appear that the accused had ever written, ever sanctioned, or ever read, were relied upon as evidence; not only against their printers and publishers, but against parties not proved to be cognisant of their contents. Acts done by one man, speeches delivered anterior to any connexion with the other traversers, were referred to in proof of guilty participation and knowledge. This alarming doctrine was, however, among the least astounding of these proceedings. The law of Ireland had been lately amended, for the purpose of ensuring more impartiality and fairness in the selection of juries. This act had been carefully considered, and was framed for the correction of abuses long known and loudly complained of. It was a popular and a remedial statute. The most flagrant of all the evils which the new jury act was intended to correct, was the partial nomination of juries. In Ireland, partiality always connects itself, in opinion and in practice, with religious distinctions; and to ensure the fair and indiscriminate appointment of qualified persons, whether Roman Catholics or Protestants, to serve on juries, was a main object of the new jury act. With the case of Mr O'Connell and his associates, religious differences and animosities were inseparably bound up. The law provided that, to secure the due administration of justice, the jury should be impartially chosen from a list, including all qualified Protestants and Catholics. This was a condition assumed by law to be indispensable to a fair trial. Yet by an unfortunate error, called by some a mere mistake, by others a 'proceeding liable to grave suspicion,' the names of many Roman Catholic jurors were excluded from the Sheriff's lists; and when the time for reducing the number of jurors subsequently arrived, the officers of the crown—by a most unwise and dangerous exercise of what we admit was their legal right—excluded from the Panel all but the Protestant jurors. The propriety of these proceedings was questioned. On

proof of the mutilation of the jury list, the array was challenged. The challenge was not allowed. 'I am of opinion,' fearlessly and wisely states the Lord Chief-Justice of England, 'that the challenge ought to have been allowed, or the trial by jury would become a mockery. If complaint is made against a jury list, it would be better if no trial should take place until the objections have been satisfactorily settled.' But the trial proceeded. We pass over the intermediate parts of the drama; we overlook the episode of the Challenge sent by the Attorney-general to an opposing Counsel, and appropriately entrusted to a peace-officer; we pass over the memorable Charge of the Chief-justice of Ireland, in which he designated the Counsel for the accused as 'the gentlemen on the other side;' and pass onward to the result—a verdict of guilty—a sentence of fine and imprisonment carried into immediate effect, and pending the appeal to a superior court. This injustice, however, we cannot charge upon the Irish judges, but upon the Law of the Land, which, while it makes a provision for the security of *property* till the judgment of a court of error is pronounced, neglects to afford any such remedy where the *liberty* of the subject is concerned.

Whatever the moral effect of these proceedings might have been, the government prosecution seemed thus far to be crowned with success. The Attorney-General was triumphant. The Law, it was said, was vindicated. It was most respectfully obeyed: no offensive or insulting proceeding, no act of violence followed. But we pause to ask, at what expense, admitting the success of the prosecution to have been complete, was it procured?—at what sacrifice of principle?—at what risk of consequences? During the administration of the Whigs, two inestimable blessings had extended their salutary influence in Ireland. An increasing feeling of confidence in the fair administration of justice; and a settled conviction that religious differences were not recognised by the law of the land. These two principles were grievously shaken by the mode of conducting the State trials. The law provided for the selection of an impartial jury; the law distinctly prescribed the mode in which that impartiality was to be secured. By accident, or by design, the very provisions of the statute, enacted to ensure this impartiality, were neglected, or were violated. Thus the accused were deprived of the protection of the law. Bad as this must appear if the object had been to produce a jury of one particular political party, it became infinitely worse, because more insulting, when its effect was the selection of a jury exclusively Protestant. A new religious disqualification was seemingly imposed; the spirit of the Emancipation Act was violated. A principle was thus laid down, which suggested the inferiority or

the unworthiness of Roman Catholic judges, of Roman Catholic magistrates, and of Roman Catholic public officers, from the highest to the lowest. We have no hesitation in thinking, that the conviction of all the Repealers in Ireland, would have been but a miserable compensation for a permanent stain thus cast upon the integrity of judicial proceedings. Every Roman Catholic felt the blow, the most moderate as well as the most eager. The Talbots, Howards, Hastings', and Stourtons, in England; and in Ireland, Lord Kenmure and the whole Roman Catholic Hierarchy came forward to protest against this grievous wrong. For the sake of the character of the House of Commons, we rejoice that Lord John Russell, with his characteristic love of liberty and justice, and Sir Thomas Wylde, with all the weight of his high legal knowledge, unhesitatingly expressed their conviction, that the accused '*had not the benefit of a fair trial.*'

The perpetrators of injustice were here doomed to suffer for their misdeeds. The judgment against Mr O'Connell and his associates has been reversed by the House of Lords; though, it is true, not without a difference of opinion entitled to respect. The accused have obtained their discharge; though after having suffered a long imprisonment, for which the law provides no remedy whatever—a flagrant injustice, calling for immediate correction on the part of the legislature.

There are other and very peculiar circumstances connected with this memorable decision, which greatly increase its practical importance. By a singular coincidence, two writs of error from Ireland were decided on the same day. A leading Orangeman of the name of Samuel Gray, had been convicted of a violent outrage. A point of law was raised in his favour, respecting his right of peremptory challenge. Three of the Irish judges decided against the prisoner, one only (Mr Justice Perrin) decided in his favour. Attacks made, with equal acrimony and injustice, against that eminent and liberal judge, induce us to remark that his opinion was pronounced in favour of the Orange agitator. In this case, the decision of the House of Lords reversed the judgment of the Irish Queen's Bench—adopted the opinion of Mr Justice Perrin, and relieved Samuel Gray from a sentence of transportation. If, on the very same day, the very same tribunal had, in the case of Mr O'Connell, affirmed the finding of a jury partially constituted, giving effect to an indictment admitted to be bad in two of its multiplied counts, and to findings declared to be illegal in three cases, we doubt whether any people upon earth, even were they as calm and reasonable as the Irish are excitable, could have reconciled the justice of two such apparently conflicting decisions. From such a danger we are relieved by the judgment which has been pronounced.

We cannot but anticipate from this judgment another incidental benefit of inestimable value. It appears to us to have dealt a heavier blow against the Repeal agitation than could have been struck in any other possible way. The judgment pronounced against the popular leaders was that of the highest criminal court in Ireland—that judgment is reversed by the House of Lords at Westminster. The prosecution was one carried on with the whole strength of the government. In Parliament, the weight of a Tory cabinet and of a Tory majority—power and influence apparently irresistible—seemed to be cast into the scale. Even the earnest feelings of the British people, justly exasperated by the delusions and falsehoods by which the Repeal cry had been supported, and outraged by the imputations cast upon them, of supposed indifference to the happiness of their Irish fellow-countrymen, seemed to check and restrain, though they could not extinguish, the sympathy felt for the accused. Yet the House of Lords, in a judgment in which no native of Ireland had any part, interposed its supreme authority in redress of an Irish wrong; and restored to their homes and to their families, the men against whom an erroneous judgment had been pronounced. This affords the most triumphant answer that can be given to those who endeavour to persuade the Irish, that justice to Ireland is unattainable from Britain. This lesson, we trust, and indeed we believe confidently, will not be lost; and if this mischievous and delusive cry is again raised, we cannot but think that the liberation of Mr O'Connell, not by the favour of the crown, not by the recommendation of the ministry, but by the force of law, and the decision of the highest court of appeal, will give to that cry its most effectual and conclusive refutation.

We should, however, act unjustly, if we were to omit to mention the highly commendable conduct of the government on some other Irish questions. Towards the end of the session a 'change' seems to have come over the spirit of their dream.' A pledge has been given by Sir Robert Peel, that the College of Maynooth, and the Education of the Roman Catholics, shall occupy the immediate attention of the government, and be brought before Parliament in the next session. Since the passing of the Emancipation Act, no measure of such practical importance for Ireland has been undertaken. The credit to which Sir Robert Peel is fully entitled, is greatly increased by reason of the ignorance and violent prejudices of some of his supporters. This he cannot but know; but his resolution is taken, and his declaration made. We trust that his conduct will not only be justly appreciated by the Roman Catholic clergy and laity, but that all honest men will second his efforts. Above all, we hope, and

fully anticipate, that his plan may be found both enlarged and liberal. He will have to encounter the same hostility, whether the improvements he proposes are great or insignificant. That hostility he has made up his mind to encounter; and he will overcome it. The Roman Catholic Hierarchy will bear in mind, that this is a step which even the most decided friends to Ireland have not ventured to take since 1807. They will bear in mind that it is taken at much personal and political risk; and we trust that their wisdom, as well as their generosity, will meet it in a becoming spirit. To this the government seem to us entitled, not only for their declaration respecting Maynooth, but for their enlightened and liberal conduct respecting Roman Catholic Churches and Endowments. Abolishing a most narrow, bigoted, and sectarian institution—one of the many bad legacies bequeathed to Ireland by her own legislature—the government have established a reformed Commission for the superintendence of all charitable bequests and endowments—of which Roman Catholic ecclesiastics and laymen will form an integral part; to which a Roman Catholic as well as a Protestant secretary will be appointed; and in which all questions involving Roman Catholic doctrines and discipline will be submitted to the Roman Catholic commissioners only. When, in addition to this, we remember that the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland are expressly named and recognised in this excellent statute; that the provision of glebes for the parochial clergy, and the granting of sites for places of Roman Catholic worship, are all encouraged and facilitated, we must say that much has been done, and that more may be anticipated, leading to conciliation and peace. The bold and generous tone adopted in both Houses by members of the cabinet, more especially by Lord Lyndhurst, in advocating the repeal of those disgraceful statutes which subjected Roman Catholics to frightful penalties for maintaining the most essential tenets of their faith; for attending divine worship according to their own ceremonial; and even for taking their children for instruction to the Continent—sufficiently prove a desire to carry out the principles of religious freedom. It was in vain that a leading Prelate grounded most intolerant arguments upon the most singular mistakes of law and of fact. The government stood firmly to their principle; and they were rewarded not only by success, but by the respect and gratitude of all the friends of religious freedom. In the same spirit, and with the same manly determination, was the difficult question of Presbyterian marriages in Ireland disposed of;—frustrating the impolitic and intolerant attempt made on behalf of the Established Church, to affix a mark of inferiority on the Presbyterian clergy;—to overturn the invariable usage of more than a century, and this at the hazard

of the honour and peace of innocent parties and families. But the act of the government, which in our judgment deserves the highest commendation, is the Bill to quiet possessions in the chapels, schools, and cemeteries belonging to Nonconformists. Attempts had been made at law, and with some success, to deprive various congregations of the property which they and their ancestors had enjoyed; of the chapels where they had worshipped; the schools they had built; the charities they had endowed; and the graves where their parents slept. Because, in some cases, the opinions of the aggrieved parties were considered as heterodox, it was therefore held that those parties might be wronged with impunity. A more flagrant attempt at injustice—a more melancholy exhibition of bigotry—never took place. Opposition the most violent was excited. Above 350,000 persons were found to petition against this act of simple justice. Lamentable is it to confess, that many of these were themselves Dissenters; who either were at the time, or had been within a few years, the humble petitioners for that toleration which they now refused to extend to their brethren.

In quitting the mention of these commendable measures, and again tendering to the government our humble thanks for their steady support of the cause of religious liberty during the Session, we would beg leave again and again to exhort them to persevere in that course, regardless of the complaints to which it may have sometimes exposed them from their followers. Let them be well aware that it is not to such murmurings that they owe either their loss of strength, or their loss of character. It is to their timid measures of half reform—it is to their abandonment of one doctrine without frankly and candidly professing another, losing the confidence of the ultras without gaining or deserving that of liberal men—it is to a wretched and ineffectual attempt to reconcile their present sense of duty when in office, with their unfortunate and indefensible declarations when in opposition—it is to the necessity thus imposed upon them of fighting important questions in a false position, where their flanks are turned, or their line is pierced—contending for the sliding-scale contrary to the wishes of many of the best friends of agriculture, and opposed as it is to the interests of all—involving themselves in an inextricable maze, by a desire to combine their love for sugar and for revenue with their proclaimed hatred of slavery—it is to causes like these that we are, very mainly, to trace that appearance of vacillation and want of principle which drive from their ranks those who cannot support, because they are not taught to respect them; and which place the government, as Sir Robert Peel has himself admitted, in ‘no very enviable situation.’

We have thus seen the 'strongest of all governments' defeated more than once in the House of Commons during the late Session;—defeated on the question of sugar, on the Factory bill, and even on less important questions;—such as Mr Gladstone's railroad project, and Sergeant Murphy's motion on the subject of Minister's money in Ireland. But what is more extraordinary still, is their defeat in the House of Lords on a Church question, proposed by the Duke of Wellington, and strongly supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. We must be allowed to make this memorable instance of mutiny in the Tory camp intelligible to our readers.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, including Archbishops, Bishops, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Robert Peel, and several other of the most eminent members of the Tory party, so far back as 1835, had recommended that the two Bishoprics of Bangor and St Asaph should be united; and that a new See should be created in the populous town of Manchester, the extensive diocese of Chester being divided into two. This formed part of a general measure of reform, intended to remedy the anomalies, and inequalities of all descriptions, which had been too long tolerated in the Episcopal System of the Church of England. That some measure of this description was necessary will be evident, when we state that the value of the episcopal sees varied from an income of L.19,000 at Durham to one of L.1000 at Llandaff; that the authority of the Bishop of Lincoln extended over 1234 benefices, and that of the Bishop of Rochester over 94. The diocese of Ely contained 126,000 inhabitants; the diocese of Chester, 1,900,000. It is obvious that these inequalities must have interfered much with the government of the church; and that so very indefensible a system required immediate correction. A remedial measure was accordingly introduced into Parliament, which passed both Houses with but little observation. By this act, the crown was invested with the authority necessary to make a more equal apportionment of episcopal duties and revenues. As a part of this reform, two English sees (Bristol and Gloucester) were directed to be united, as also the two Welsh bishoprics. The former union took place on the first vacancy of the see. The union of Bangor and St Asaph has been necessarily suspended till the time of such a vacancy. In the meanwhile, a strong excitement has arisen against the consolidation of the Welsh sees;—founded mainly upon the principles of the new Oxford school of divinity. It was asserted that no alteration like that proposed by the ecclesiastical Commission was defensible, if made by lay authority only. The alteration was stigmatized as Erastian, and contrary to the true principles of the Episcopal church. The Bishops, or

Angels of the Church, as they are termed by the new school, were considered as beyond, or rather above, the scope of all civil authority. In vain it was suggested that the spiritual well-being of 1,300,000 souls, inhabitants of the intended see of Manchester, and the well-being of their parochial pastors, would be promoted by the appointment of the new Bishop. This was set aside by the new school, as being less important than the preservation of a bishopric of 1300 years' standing; and it was suggested that some mode might be discovered for combining both these objects. It was on the other hand suggested, that there were in these Welsh dioceses nearly forty parishes held *in commendam*, or otherwise annexed to the two bishoprics; that in these parishes the ministers who attended to the services of the church were miserably unprovided for; that these parishes contained a population of 53,062, being more than one-seventh of the whole population of North Wales; that, in Anglesey, fifty clergymen had the charge of seventy-eight churches and chapels; that, in thirty cases, single ministers had charge of two churches each; and that instances existed in which divine worship was performed by the same clergyman in three separate churches. This statement of clerical distress was made with the view of suggesting, that the revenues of the suppressed Welsh bishopric might be most beneficially appropriated in improving the income of these distressed ministers, in case the bishopric of Manchester could be endowed from other funds. But all these suggestions were disregarded; the authority of the heads of the church, the authority of the ecclesiastical commissioners, the authority of the government, as represented by the Duke of Wellington, were all set at naught. Even a strong desire was for a time manifested to resist the undoubted prerogative of the Crown, and to proceed to legislate without the Queen's previous consent, in a case in which that consent had been invariably thought necessary for legislation.

The Tory opposition were finally compelled to submit, but they did not yield to the numerical strength of the government, nor yet in deference to their leader's authority: They yielded to a mechanical force rather than to a moral conviction, and in doing so they assailed the government in no measured terms. The Lord Chancellor was charged by one of his allies with an 'unworthy *manœuvre*,' and when this was objected to as out of order, the words of a 'Parliamentary trick' were substituted; and, however unflattering these words, they were acquiesced in. The fact is, that the opponents of the government were on this occasion contending for two objects, neither of which were distinctly avowed. The first, the pre-eminence of the Church as a distinct body, superior to the legislature itself, and one not to be touched by lay hands. The approval of Convocation, it was contended, was re-

quisite to give validity to an act of Parliament trenching on any question of religion. With the assertion of this principle, the severance of church and state, the free election of Bishops without *congé-d'élire*, and the abolition of the Queen's supremacy, has been included. The second principle is, that the interests of religion are best to be promoted by a lavish, if not an indefinite Multiplication of Bishops. The success of missionary labours is now considered to depend less on planting the Cross and circulating the Bible, than in scattering Mitres and Crosiers. If our colonies are discontented, a new Bishop is the fashionable remedy. If the savages of New Zealand are to be reformed, a learned and excellent Prelate is to form part of our earliest plantation. The world were at first astonished at the appointment of a Bishop to our garrison of Gibraltar; and the only justification of that appointment we have heard is, that the right reverend divine may be employed to confirm the news from the East.

We do not refer to these debates on the Welsh bishoprics as any proof that the government was wrong in the particular instance. On the contrary, we think they were justified and bound to act as they have done, in resisting Lord Powis's bill, and in pledging themselves to do so hereafter. But we have shown, that even in the House of Lords they are unable to direct and influence the proceedings of the legislature; that they are in a condition of unexampled weakness; and if it be true, 'that to be weak is to be miserable,' we are warranted in considering the present as one of the most miserable governments that has existed in modern times.

Though we have greatly exceeded our prescribed limits, we cannot conclude without shortly noticing a mistake not unlikely to be committed. We may be asked, are we quite consistent and candid in casting reproach upon the government, if the gist of our accusation is, that they have adopted many of the principles to which we have so often expressed our adhesion? We do not reproach them with what they are now doing, but with what they have formerly done: yet our main ground of reproach is not the extreme injustice which they committed against their opponents, by misrepresenting alike their measures and their motives. We lament the injury done to the cause of good government and sound legislation more deeply than any injury done to party interests; we lament to see the obstacles which the present government have raised against their own measures. What practically stands in the way of a just settlement of the corn laws? The unfortunate pledges given in favour of a sliding-scale. What complicates every arrangement for settling the sugar duties? Lord Sandon's motion. What has aggravated all Irish agitation? The vehement abuse of the Irish people, as well as of the Irish agita-

tors. We are, however, in hopes that some, at least, of the causes of reproach may in future be removed, and therefore forgotten. It is announced that a full and searching review of our financial condition will be undertaken next session, before Parliament are called on to renew the Income-Tax. For so great a sacrifice as the continuance of this tax, let the public exact a full equivalent. Let the principles of religious liberty recognised in the Dissenters' Chapel bill, and in the case of the Irish Charities, be fully carried out; let an atonement be made to Ireland, by a full equalization of the elective franchise, for the wrongs and follies under which she has lately suffered. A continuance in a wretched and timid system of halting between two opinions, cannot but fail utterly, and fail disgracefully. A bolder and a more manly line of conduct may yet succeed; and, if successful, it will not only promote the best interests of the country, but contribute to raise the legislature in the estimation of the public, and to restore to public men some portion of that confidence which has been so grievously impaired, if not altogether forfeited.

ART. VI.—1. *Coningsby; or, the New Generation.* By B. D'ISRAELI, M.P. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1844.

2. *Historic Fancies.* By the Hon. GEORGE SYDNEY SMYTHE, M.P. 8vo. London: 1844.

3. *England's Trust, and other Poems.* By Lord JOHN MANNERS, M.P. London: 1844.

HAVING been sometimes asked, What do the terms 'Young England' import? we have been induced to gratify the less informed of our readers with a notice of the very small party who rejoice in that name—a notice brief and slight, but which may suffice, for the present, to give some idea of its composition and pretensions. Should any circumstances occur to invest it with further importance, we may hereafter be induced to resume the subject in a more detailed and elaborate manner.

We must, however, say that this party, though small, and in some of its aspects rather laughable, is yet entitled to more attention than it seems to have received. But this claim arises more perhaps from the causes from which it has sprung, and the feelings of which it is the exponent, than from any immediate practical results to which it can lead. Though, as just stated, it is no-

where numerous, it has nevertheless had some influence on the proceedings of the House of Commons, owing to the ability of its members in that House. In the House of Lords it is not avowedly represented by more than one lay Peer and a Bishop. But its influence is greater than its numbers, and its organization is on the whole complete. After a curious inspection and enumeration of the limbs and features of a new-born infant, we recollect once upon a time to have heard, that the first observation of a wondering but intelligent child was—‘ Dear baby ‘ has got a little of every thing.’ So it is with ‘ Young England.’ It has got a little of every thing ;—a little of history, somewhat more of metaphysics, a small portion of unintelligible theology, expanded and inflated into an enormous bubble, bright in prismatic colours, but bursting at the first touch of a feather ; and a very little political economy, almost as bubble-like and inflated—not to mention other smaller accomplishments. As Swift said of the garden of his friend Dr Delany :—

‘ You scarce upon the borders enter,
Before you’re in the very centre ;
Yet in this narrow compass we
Observe a vast variety.’

But we are far from intending or wishing to depreciate the attainments of the Party. There never was one which, for its numbers, has produced so many parliamentary speakers and so many authors. Their inditers of verse are particularly numerous : ‘ Tam multa genera linguarum sunt in hoc mundo ! et ‘ nihil sine voce est !’ Among the chief ornaments of the fraternity are those named at the head of this article. Their works may be said to contain a pretty full exposition of their political creed, and exemplification of their intellectual powers. Both the one and the other appear to us to have been misapprehended in some respects. By themselves and their immediate followers, they have been made the victims of exaggerated encomium. They are possessed by the evil spirit of a *coterie*. When Mr Smythe dedicates his ‘ Historic Fancies’ to Lord John Manners, he takes occasion to designate that very amiable young nobleman as ‘ the Philip Sydney of our generation ;’ and, in return, the Poems of this modern Sydney are ‘ admirably as well as affectionately inscribed to his friend.’ In Coningsby, the individuals who compose the party are so clearly designated, and some of the likenesses are so striking, that the addition of their names would only be a needless formality ; and they are held up to public veneration as the future regenerators of England and of mankind. Being for the most part young

men, their historian, Mr D'Israeli, declares war against age, and proclaims that England is alone to be saved by its youth; and he decides with equal confidence, that the very restricted circle of which he is the eulogist, contains all the patriots and apostles who are to produce a new order of things. 'Thou art the man!' he says to his hero, with all the emphasis of a self-inspired and self-accredited prophet. On the other hand, those who depreciate 'Young England' represent them as vain, disappointed, and selfish adventurers, with whom the *spretæ injuria formæ* is the only moving power; and who, if they had been admitted to a share in the distribution of political honours, would have been the panegyrists of much that they are now the loudest to condemn. Had they been made Lords of the Treasury or under Secretaries of State; it is sneeringly suggested we should have heard less of them as authors or moralists. The praise is absurd and exaggerated; but we think the censure still more unjust. There are larger and higher principles appealed to—there are occasionally more generous aspirations to be discovered among them, than can, by any reasonable possibility, be reconciled with low, sordid, or insincere views. And if we shall have occasion to deal somewhat severely with their faults and their mistakes, it is because we think that many members of the party are deserving of better and nobler things than belong to the destiny which they are striving, by fantastic means, to work out for themselves.

Their first characteristic is their presumption. Desirous to fix their own statues on the most elevated pedestal, they act as determined iconoclasts,—thinking that to build they must first destroy, and that it is from among ruins only that they can obtain their materials.

‘ The time is out of joint, O cursed spite !
That ever we were born to set it right.’

They apply these lines with this qualification only, that they never express any aversion to the task, nor any doubt of their ability to perform it. ‘ The Whigs,’ say they, ‘ are worn out—Conservatism is a sham, and Radicalism a pollution.’—‘ Loyalty is dead, and reverence is only a galvanized corpse.’ They accordingly conclude that they, and they alone, are called forth, and competent to effect the salvation of the country. Politically connected, whilst in opposition, with the Tory party—giving to that party now in office a general, though occasionally a vituperative support, they must be held as possessing a competent knowledge of what Conservatism is. The following dialogue between the heroes of Mr D'Israeli's very clever, but in some respects very objectionable Novel, describes their feel-

ings, after the triumph of the Conservative cause, at a successful election for the borough of Cambridge :—

“ By Jove !” said the panting Buckhurst, throwing himself on the sofa, “ it was well done—never was any thing better done. An immense triumph—the greatest triumph the Conservative cause has had ; and yet,” he added laughing, “ if any fellow were to ask me what the Conservative cause was, I am sure I should not know what to say.”

“ Why, it’s the cause of our glorious institutions,” said Coningsby ; “ a Crown robbed of its prerogatives—a Church controlled by a Commission—and an Aristocracy that does not lead.”

“ Under whose genial influence the order of the Peasantry—a country’s pride—has vanished from the face of the land,” said Henry Sydney, “ and is succeeded by a race of serfs who are called labourers, and who burn ricks.”

“ Under which,” continued Coningsby, “ the crown has become a cipher, the church a sect, the nobility drones, and the people drudges.”

“ It is the great constitutional cause,” said Lord Vere, “ that refuses every thing to argument—yields every thing to agitation. Conservative in Parliament, destructive out of doors—that has no objection to any change, provided only it be effected by unauthorized means.”

“ The first public association of men,” said Coningsby, “ who have worked for an avowed end without enunciating a single principle.”

“ And who have established political infidelity throughout the land,” said Lord Henry.

“ By Jove !” said Buckhurst, “ what infernal fools we have made ourselves this last week !”

Conversations such as this are likely to have taken place at the close of very many elections besides that at Cambridge ; and we know well in how many circles, and among how many politicians, this language is now held in bitterness of heart and disappointment. We also know how reluctant is the support given to the present government by men professing such opinions.

In another and more serious passage, we are informed on the same authority, that ‘ Conservatism is an attempt to carry on affairs by substituting the fulfilment of the duties of office for the performance of the functions of government ; and to maintain this negative system by the mere influence of property, reputable private conduct, and what are called good connexions. ‘ Conservatism discards prescription, shrinks from principle, disavows progress : having rejected all respect for antiquity, it offers no redress for the present, and makes no preparation for the future.’ This, to a certain extent, we admit to be true, and it is the result of the false position in which the government has placed itself. They fear to acknowledge boldly the principles on which they are acting ; and they dare not act on the principles which they so long openly professed, or permitted their friends to profess on their behalf.

Such is the estimate formed of the Conservative leaders by a section of that body. The results of their system of government is described in terms not more flattering, by another of their accredited organs:—‘The misery of the lower orders ‘was never in any country more universal or more intense. Our ‘foreign relations are unstable and precarious. An income-tax ‘has been resorted to, for the first time, in a season of peace. ‘The House of Commons has stultified itself on two occasions. ‘The House of Lords, virtually abdicating in 1832, has become ‘little more than a mere chamber of registry.’ This, again, is an exaggerated picture; but it must be borne in mind that it comes from the pen of no opposition writer, but from that of a supporter of the very government whose acts are censured in such unmitigated terms. The fact, we believe, is, that *Young England*, like a much larger and more important portion of the public, are indignant because they have been deceived. They feel the want of some fixed political faith, or of some strong and binding political attachments. The government neither avows any distinct political creed, nor commands any personal sympathies. The elements of strength which depend on respect and on attachment, are alike wanting. Cold and apathetic indifference—the most fatal symptoms of a political paralysis—are visible both in and out of Parliament.

The second failing of this party is almost as much opposed to their usefulness and success as the first. Presumption is invariably productive of exaggeration. Rejecting all experience, separating themselves from all the great parties, their opinions become singular and forced. ‘If the Whigs take the road ‘through Hyde Park, and the Tories the Hammersmith road,’ said Grattan, ‘you will be sure to see Harry Banks creeping ‘along the Park wall on his hands and knees.’ This applies to *Young England* in all respects, except in the submissive attitude of creeping. On the contrary, they are professed posture-masters. We must be permitted to call their affectation of singularity and exaggeration, a vulgarism. To excite surprise is no such very difficult task. It is done more certainly by a monster than by an Apollo. For one painter who can emulate the delicate and transparent skies and distances of Claude, a hundred pretenders to art may be found to parody the blood-red sun and inky mountains of Martin. Every sound with this school becomes a shriek, every attitude a distortion. A few extracts will disclose the tone of the School, and at the same time exemplify the phraseology of their principal author. The preparation for a first meeting between an Eton schoolboy and a somewhat formidable uncle, is there described as denoting ‘that despera-

'tion which the scaffold requires. His face was pale; his hand ' was moist; his heart beat with tumult.' The attachment of schoolboys is depicted in this piece of fantastic jargon:—' At school, friendship is a passion. It entrances the being; it ' tears the soul. All love of after life can never bring its rap- ' ture or its wretchedness; no bliss so absorbing; no pangs of ' despair so keen: what insane sensitiveness; what frantic sensi- ' bility; what earthquakes of the heart and whirlwinds of the ' soul are confined in the single phrase—a schoolboy's friend- ' ship!' The only resemblance that we have ever met to this, is in a description said to have been given by an American citizen of his favourite horse. ' He is a thunder and lightning creature, with a dash of the earthquake in him.' In another passage, a storm in a forest induces Mr D'Israeli at once to borrow and to deform one of the most exquisite passages in Mr Taylor's noble Poem of ' Edwin the Fair.' ' The wind howled, the ' branches of the forest stirred, and sent forth sounds like an in- ' cantation. The various voices of the mighty trees were distin- ' guishable as they sent forth their terror or their agony. The ' oak roared, the beech shrieked, the elm sent forth its deep and ' long-drawn groan, the passion of the ash was heard in moans of ' thrilling anguish.'

These passages are not to be viewed as merely exemplifying vices of style. In fact, they do much more. The same absurd inflation, as already noticed, extends to principles and opinions. The politics of the school are founded on the rejection of all experience; its philosophy on a contempt for all experiment. 'Great ' men never want experience,' is the dogma of Mr D'Israeli; and upon this theory he argues that youth alone can perform great or good actions, and that the age of thirty-seven is the fatal bound which neither patriotism nor genius can pass. The inutility of experience he seeks to prove by a long catalogue, in which are whimsically united as inexperienced men, Raplael and Grotius, Ignatius Loyola and John Wesley, Luther and Lord Clive, Innocent III., William Pitt, and Don John of Austria. This is abundantly ridiculous. The men with whom we are dealing delight in rejecting all common sense as the type and evidence of vulgar expediency.

' To shun the expedient and the good pursue,' they take as their motto. But they never condescend to distinguish between that low and selfish principle of action which is misnamed expediency, and that generous and enlarged expediency which is but another word for wisdom. True expediency is but the application of a just principle to practice;—not by any sacrifice of the principle, but by applying it with a wise adaptation to circum-

stances. To shorten sail in a storm, to spread out canvass when the wind abates, is acting according to expediency; but yet neither the one alternative nor the other frees the pilot from the duty of keeping the vessel in her true course, studying the best chart, and fixing his eyes on the stars or on the compass. It is only when expediency is mean and selfish that it is debased; and debased more especially when it resolves itself wholly into personal interests. How far the expediency of which Young England most loudly complains comes within this category, it is for that party and not for us to decide.

The conclusions drawn from English history on their principles, are as extravagant as the principles themselves. 'Man is only great when he acts from the passions; never irresistible but when he appeals to the imagination.' Going in search of these, it is therefore in the relation between the feudal monarch and his subjects, between the baronial noble and his vassals, that Mr D'Israeli seeks for the true ties of obligation and sympathy. As to our present condition, it seems that we cannot even boast of being governed by a legitimate sovereign. Lord John Manners informs us, that it is at the tomb of the Stuarts

——'that religion sings

Her requiem o'er our latest rightful kings;'

and he asks despondingly,

'Where now is that fond reverence which spread

A holy halo round each royal head,

And show'd the world that more than earthly thing,

The Lord's anointed in a sceptred king?'

Hence, also, Beckett, Wolsey, and Laud, are designated as saints and martyrs—the regular clergy as 'a staff of holy men;' 'her once keen sword' is still described as the just attribute of the Church; and we are conjured to imitate those times, when, 'unrestrained by mortmain's jealous laws,' piety was permitted to offer gold and gems,

'To deck the forehead of the queen of heaven.'

All that marks the progress of modern times is denounced—

'Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die,

But leave us still our old nobility.'

Nor are these frenzied ideas confined to poetry only. The Revolution of 1688, is denounced as authoritatively in prose as in verse. Our Parliamentary constitution is represented as copied from the Venetian Senate—the representative system as but 'a happy device of a ruder age, to which it was admirably adapted; an age of semi-civilization, but a system which now exhibits many symptoms of desuetude,' The happiest expe-

dient of the political philosophy of modern times for combining liberty and order, power with responsibility, is scornfully rejected. The only real principle of representation adapted to our era, Mr D'Israeli considers to be public opinion, of which the public Journals are the practical expositors, and which, with the Monarch, is to be supreme.

The state of society is dealt with, as might be anticipated, in quite as extraordinary a manner as our laws and constitution. The middle classes seem to be excluded as unworthy of all consideration. The eyes of Young England can only discover in the body politic, what they consider the head of gold and the feet of clay;—the heart, which carries on the circulation, forms no part of that body. For the very lowest class of all the strongest sympathy is professed, and we believe honestly felt, but it is strangely manifested. It is not proposed to improve their condition by the extension of knowledge. On the contrary, those times are spoken of with respect, when

‘ On them no lurid light had knowledge spread,
But faith stood them in education’s stead.’

But though education, law, commerce, and liberty, are proscribed, it may be some consolation to learn, that an equivalent will be found in the unrestrained practice of almsgiving;—that all will be set to rights by the re-establishment of monasteries, and the resumption of those happy days,

‘ When good and bad were all unquestion’d fed,
When monks still practised their dear Lord’s command,
And rain’d their charity throughout the land.’

To accomplish the mighty purposes of political and social regeneration, a holy alliance is recommended between the Crown and the Chartists! The former must be gratified by unrestrained power; the latter soothed by food and sports. *Panem et circenses*; bread and bulls—Mummers and Morris-Dancers. If these blessings are not speedily communicated to the people, or if, when given, they do not satisfy, we are informed, that

‘ The greatest class of all shall know its rights,
And the poor trampled people rise at last.’

Mr Smythe, it is true, seems to suggest a link between the Crown and the People, which, if restored, might do much, according to his ‘Historic Fancies,’ to unite them. He would reintroduce the practice of touching for the Evil!—a ‘graceful ‘superstition,’ which operated a ‘direct communication between ‘the highest and the lowest, between the king and the poor. ‘Dr Johnson, a man of the people, if ever there was one, was yet ‘prouder of having been touched by Queen Anne when he was

‘a child, than he was of all his heroism under misfortune.’ A further agency, extending over all, is sought for in the Church, altered, however, in its constitution and its principles. It is to be rendered democratic in character. ‘The priests of God are to be the tribunes of the people,’ observes Mr D’Israeli. ‘The church is also to be relieved from its alliance with the state, by being placed above it, and no longer subject to the indignity of having its bishops virtually appointed by the House of Commons, now a sectarian assembly.’

We must here, for the present, take leave of these harebrained speculators; not, however, without acknowledging, that amidst their extravagances we find strong indications of a high-minded and generous spirit. We, in particular, see much to approve and to admire in their sympathy for human suffering, and in their active desire to relieve it, wherever found. But let them ‘love wisely, not too well.’ It is not by wordy declamations against the New Poor-Law, or in such unjust and unwise interferences with Labour, as were last Session so unanswerably and eloquently exposed by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, that their duty will be best performed. It is by labouring to free industry from restraint—to procure a repeal of all restrictive laws and oppressive duties—and not by the empirical nostrums of their present creed, that they will best serve the cause of the labouring poor, and the social interests of their country. We would fain find some apology for their heresies. The stream is as yet near its fountain, and in its shallow bed only bubbles and frets itself into foam. A time may, and we hope will come, when its course will be more calm, and its waters equally pure. We are much inclined to think that their errors may in great measure be ascribed to the disgust felt at the want of all true elevation of purpose on the part of our Rulers and the Legislature? It is from the want of a solid Temple and a true Faith, that men betake themselves to Idols; and we are not without hopes that among the disciples of this errant school, which is not without redeeming characteristics, Truth may yet find some of her most rational worshippers.

ART. VII.—1. *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.*
4 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.

2. *Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, to Sir Horace Mann.* 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1843-4.

MORE than ten years ago we commenced a sketch of the political life of the great Lord Chatham.* We then stopped at the death of George the Second, with the intention of speedily resuming our task. Circumstances which it would be tedious to explain, long prevented us from carrying this intention into effect. Nor can we regret the delay. For the materials which were within our reach in 1834 were scanty and unsatisfactory, when compared with those which we at present possess. Even now, though we have had access to some valuable sources of information which have not yet been opened to the public, we cannot but feel that the history of the first ten years of the reign of George the Third is but imperfectly known to us. Nevertheless, we are inclined to think that we are in a condition to lay before our readers a narrative neither uninteresting nor unimportant. We therefore return with pleasure to our long interrupted labour.

We left Pitt in the zenith of prosperity and glory, the idol of England, the terror of France, the admiration of the whole civilized world. The wind, from whatever quarter it blew, carried to England tidings of battles won, fortresses taken, provinces added to the Empire. At home, factions had sunk into a lethargy, such as had never been known since the great religious schism of the sixteenth century had roused the public mind from repose.

In order that the events which we have to relate may be clearly understood, it may be desirable that we should advert to the causes which had for a time suspended the animation of both the great English parties.

If, rejecting all that is merely accidental, we look at the essential characteristics of the Whig and the Tory, we may consider each of them as the representative of a great principle, essential to the welfare of nations. One is, in an especial manner, the guardian of liberty, and the other, of order. One is the moving power, and the other the steadying power of the state. One is the sail, without which society would make no progress, the other the ballast, without which there would be small safety in a tempest. But, during the forty-six years which followed the accession of the house of Hanover, these distinctive peculiarities seemed to be effaced. The Whig conceived that he could not

better serve the cause of civil and religious freedom than by strenuously supporting the Protestant dynasty. The Tory conceived that he could not better prove his hatred of revolutions than by attacking a government to which a revolution had given being. Both came by degrees to attach more importance to the means than to the end. Both were thrown into unnatural situations; and both, like animals transported to an uncongenial climate, languished and degenerated. The Tory, removed from the sunshine of the court, was as a camel in the snows of Lapland. The Whig, basking in the rays of royal favour, was as a reindeer in the sands of Arabia.

Dante tells us that he saw, in Malebolge, a strange encounter between a human form and a serpent. The enemies, after cruel wounds inflicted, stood for a time glaring on each other. A great cloud surrounded them, and then a wonderful metamorphosis began. Each creature was transfigured into the likeness of its antagonist. The serpent's tail divided itself into two legs; the man's legs intertwined themselves into a tail. The body of the serpent put forth arms; the arms of the man shrank into his body. At length the serpent stood up a man, and spake; the man sank down a serpent, and glided hissing away. Something like this was the transformation which, during the reign of George the First, befell the two English parties. Each gradually took the shape and colour of its foe; till at length the Tory rose up erect the zealot of freedom, and the Whig crawled and licked the dust at the feet of power.

It is true that, when these degenerate politicians discussed questions merely speculative, and, above all, when they discussed questions relating to the conduct of their own grandfathers, they still seemed to differ as their grandfathers had differed. The Whig, who during three Parliaments had never given one vote against the court, and who was ready to sell his soul for the Comptroller's staff, or for the Great Wardrobe, still professed to draw his political doctrines from Locke and Milton, still worshipped the memory of Pym and Hampden, and would still, on the thirtieth of January, take his glass, first to the man in the mask, and then to the man who would do it without a mask. The Tory, on the other hand, while he reviled the mild and temperate Walpole as a deadly enemy of liberty, could see nothing to reprobate in the iron tyranny of Stafford and Laud. But, whatever judgment the Whig or the Tory of that age might pronounce on transactions long past, there can be no doubt that, as respected the practical questions then pending, the Tory was a reformer, and indeed an intemperate and indiscreet reformer, while the Whig was conservative even to bigotry. We have

ourselves seen similar effects produced in a neighbouring country by similar causes. Who would have believed, fifteen years ago, that M. Guizot and M. Villemain would have to defend property and social order against the Jacobinical attacks of such enemies as M. Genoude and M. de La Roche-Jaquelin?

Thus the successors of the old Cavaliers had turned demagogues; the successors of the old Roundheads had turned courtiers. Yet was it long before their mutual animosity began to abate; for it is the nature of parties to retain their original enmities far more firmly than their original principles. During many years, a generation of Whigs whom Sidney would have spurned as slaves, continued to wage deadly war with a generation of Tories whom Jefferies would have hanged for republicans.

Through the whole reign of George the First, and through nearly half of the reign of George the Second, a Tory was regarded as an enemy of the reigning house, and was excluded from all the favours of the crown. Though most of the country gentlemen were Tories, none but Whigs were created peers and baronets. Though most of the clergy were Tories, none but Whigs were created deans and bishops. In every county, opulent and well-descended Tory squires complained that their names were left out of the commission of the peace; while men of small estate and mean birth, who were for toleration and excise, septennial parliaments and standing armies, presided at quarter sessions, and became deputy lieutenants.

By degrees some approaches were made towards a reconciliation. While Walpole was at the head of affairs, enmity to his power induced a large and powerful body of Whigs, headed by the heir-apparent of the throne, to make an alliance with the Tories, and a truce even with the Jacobites. After Sir Robert's fall, the ban which lay on the Tory party was taken off. The chief places in the administration continued to be filled by Whigs, and, indeed, could scarcely have been filled otherwise; for the Tory nobility and gentry, though strong in numbers and in property, had among them scarcely a single man distinguished by talents, either for business or for debate. A few of them, however, were admitted to subordinate offices; and this indulgence produced a softening effect on the temper of the whole body. The first levee of George the Second after Walpole's resignation was a remarkable spectacle. Mingled with the constant supporters of the house of Brunswick, with the Russells, the Cavendishes, and the Pelhams, appeared a crowd of faces utterly unknown to the pages and gentlemen-ushers, lords of rural manors, whose ale and fox-hounds were renowned in the neighbourhood of the Mendip hills, or round the Wrekin, but who had never

crossed the threshold of the palace since the days when Oxford, with the white staff in his hand, stood behind Queen Anne.

During the eighteen years which followed this day, both factions were gradually sinking deeper and deeper into repose. The apathy of the public mind is partly to be ascribed to the unjust violence with which the administration of Walpole had been assailed. In the body politic, as in the natural body, morbid languor generally succeeds to morbid excitement. The people had been maddened by sophistry, by calumny, by rhetoric, by stimulants applied to the national pride. In the fulness of bread, they had raved as if famine had been in the land. While enjoying such a measure of civil and religious freedom as, till then, no great society had ever known, they had cried out for a Timoleon or a Brutus to stab their oppressors to the heart. They were in this frame of mind when the change of administration took place; and they soon found that there was to be no change whatever in the system of government. The natural consequences followed. To frantic zeal succeeded sullen indifference. The cant of patriotism had not merely ceased to charm the public ear, but had become as nauseous as the cant of Puritanism after the downfall of the Rump. The hot fit was over: the cold fit had begun: and it was long before seditious arts, or even real grievances, could bring back the fiery paroxysm which had run its course, and reached its termination.

Two attempts were made to disturb this tranquillity. The banished heir of the house of Stuart headed a rebellion; the discontented heir of the house of Brunswick headed an opposition. Both the rebellion and the opposition came to nothing. The battle of Culloden annihilated the Jacobite party; the death of Prince Frederic dissolved the faction which, under his guidance, had feebly striven to annoy his father's government. His chief followers hastened to make their peace with the ministry; and the political torpor became complete.

Five years after the death of Prince Frederic, the public mind was for a time violently excited. But this excitement had nothing to do with the old disputes between Whigs and Tories. England was at war with France. The war had been feebly conducted. Minorca had been torn from us. Our fleet had retired before the white flag of the House of Bourbon. A bitter sense of humiliation, new to the proudest and bravest of nations, superseded every other feeling. The cry of all the counties and great towns of the realm was for a government which would retrieve the honour of the English arms. The two most powerful men in the country were the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt. Alternate victories and defeats had made them sensible that neither

of them could stand alone. The interests of the state, and the interests of their own ambition, impelled them to coalesce. By their coalition was formed the ministry which was in power when George the Third ascended the throne.

The more carefully the structure of this celebrated ministry is examined, the more shall we see reason to marvel at the skill or the luck which had combined in one harmonious whole such various and, as it seemed, incompatible elements of force. The influence which is derived from stainless integrity, the influence which is derived from the vilest arts of corruption, the strength of aristocratical connection, the strength of democratical enthusiasm, all these things were for the first time found together. Newcastle brought to the coalition a vast mass of power, which had descended to him from Walpole and Pelham. The public offices, the church, the courts of law, the army, the navy, the diplomatic service, swarmed with his creatures. The boroughs, which long afterwards made up the memorable schedules A and B, were represented by his nominees. The great Whig families, which during several generations had been trained in the discipline of party warfare, and were accustomed to stand together in a firm phalanx, acknowledged him as their captain. Pitt, on the other hand, had what Newcastle wanted, an eloquence which stirred the passions and charmed the imagination, a high reputation for purity, and the confidence and ardent love of millions.

The partition which the two ministers made of the powers of government was singularly happy. Each occupied a province for which he was well qualified; and neither had any inclination to intrude himself into the province of the other. Newcastle took the treasury, the civil and ecclesiastical patronage, and the disposal of that part of the secret service money which was then employed in bribing members of Parliament. Pitt was secretary of state, with the direction of the war and of foreign affairs. Thus the filth of all the noisome and pestilential sewers of government was poured into one channel. Through the other passed only what was bright and stainless. Mean and selfish politicians, pining for commissionerships, gold sticks, and ribands, flocked to the great house at the corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields. There, at every levee, appeared eighteen or twenty pair of lawn sleeves; for there was not, it was said, a single Prelate who had not owed either his first elevation or some subsequent translation to Newcastle. There appeared those members of the House of Commons in whose silent votes the main strength of the government lay. One wanted a place in the excise for his butler. Another came about a prebend for his son. A third whispered that he had always stood by his Graco and the Protestant succession;

that his last election had been very expensive ; that pot-wallopers had now no conscience ; that he had been forced to take up money on mortgage ; and that he hardly knew where to turn for five hundred pounds. The Duke pressed all their hands, passed his arms round all their shoulders, patted all their backs, and sent away some with wages, and some with promises. From this traffic Pitt stood haughtily aloof. Not only was he himself incorruptible, but he shrank from the loathsome drudgery of corrupting others. He had not, however, been twenty years in Parliament, and ten in office, without discovering how the government was carried on. He was perfectly aware that bribery was practised on a large scale by his colleagues. Hating the practice, yet despairing of putting it down, and doubting whether, in those times, any ministry could stand without it, he determined to be blind to it. He would see nothing, know nothing, believe nothing. People who came to talk to him about shares in lucrative contracts, or about the means of securing a Cornish corporation, were soon put out of countenance by his arrogant humility. They did him too much honour. Such matters were beyond his capacity. It was true that his poor advice about expeditions and treaties was listened to with indulgence by a gracious sovereign. If the question were, who should command in North America, or who should be ambassador at Berlin, his colleagues would probably condescend to take his opinion. But he had not the smallest influence with the secretary of the treasury, and could not venture to ask even for a tide-waiter's place.

It may be doubted whether he did not owe as much of his popularity to his ostentatious purity, as to his eloquence, or to his talents for the administration of war. It was every where said with delight and admiration that the great Commoner, without any advantages of birth or fortune, had, in spite of the dislike of the court and of the aristocracy, made himself the first man in England, and made England the first country in the world ; that his name was mentioned with awe in every palace from Lisbon to Moscow ; that his trophies were in all the four quarters of the globe ; yet that he was still plain William Pitt, without title or riband, without pension or sinecure place. Whenever he should retire, after saving the state, he must sell his coach-horses and his silver candlesticks. Widely as the taint of corruption had spread, his hands were clean. They had never received, they had never given, the price of infamy. Thus the coalition gathered to itself support from all the high and all the low parts of human nature, and was strong with the whole united strength of virtue and of Mammon.

Pitt and Newcastle were co-ordinate chief ministers. The

subordinate places had been filled on the principle of including in the government every party and shade of party, the avowed Jacobites alone excepted; nay, every public man who, from his abilities or from his situation, seemed likely to be either useful in office or formidable in opposition.

The Whigs, according to what was then considered as their prescriptive right, held by far the largest share of power. The main support of the administration was what may be called the great Whig connection—a connection which, during near half a century, had generally had the chief sway in the country, and which derived an immense authority from rank, wealth, borough interest, and firm union. To this connection, of which Newcastle was the head, belonged the houses of Cavendish, Lennox, Fitzroy, Bentinck, Mannors, Conway, Wentworth, and many others of high note.

There were two other powerful Whig connections, either of which might have been a nucleus for a formidable opposition. But room had been found in the government for both. They were known as the Grenvilles and the Bedfords.

The head of the Grenvilles was Richard Earl Temple. His talents for administration and debate were of no high order. But his great possessions, his turbulent and unscrupulous character, his restless activity, and his skill in the most ignoble tactics of faction, made him one of the most formidable enemies that a ministry could have. He was keeper of the privy seal. His brother George was treasurer of the navy. They were supposed to be on terms of close friendship with Pitt, who had married their sister, and was the most uxorious of husbands.

The Bedfords, or, as they were called by their enemies, the Bloomsbury gang, professed to be led by John Duke of Bedford, but in truth led him wherever they chose, and very often led him where he never would have gone of his own accord. He had many good qualities of head and heart, and would have been certainly a respectable, and possibly a distinguished man, if he had been less under the influence of his friends, or more fortunate in choosing them. Some of them were indeed, to do them justice, men of parts. But here, we are afraid, eulogy must end. Sandwich and Rigby were able debaters, pleasant boon companions, dexterous intriguers, masters of all the arts of jobbing and electioneering, and, both in public and private life, shamelessly immoral. Weymouth had a natural eloquence, which sometimes astonished those who knew how little he owed to study. But he was indolent and dissolute, and had early impaired a fine estate with the dice-box, and a fine constitution with the bottle. The wealth and power of the Duke, and his talents and audacity of

some of his retainers, might have seriously annoyed the strongest ministry. But his assistance had been secured. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; Rigby was his secretary; and the whole party dutifully supported the measures of the government.

Two men had, a short time before, been thought likely to contest with Pitt the lead of the House of Commons—William Murray and Henry Fox. But Murray had been removed to the Lords, and was Chief-Justice of the King's Bench; Fox was indeed still in the Commons. But means had been found to secure, if not his strenuous support, at least his silent acquiescence. He was a poor man; he was a doting father. The office of Paymaster-General during an expensive war was, in that age, perhaps the most lucrative situation in the gift of the government. This office was bestowed on Fox. The prospect of making a noble fortune in a few years, and of providing amply for his darling boy Charles, was irresistibly tempting. To hold a subordinate place, however profitable, after having led the House of Commons, and having been entrusted with the business of forming a ministry, was indeed a great descent. But a punctilious sense of personal dignity was no part of the character of Henry Fox.

We have not time to enumerate all the other men of weight and talents who were, by some tie or other, attached to the government. We may mention Hardwicke, reputed the first lawyer of the age; Legge, reputed the first financier of the age; the acute and ready Oswald; the bold and humorous Nugent; Charles Townshend, the most brilliant and versatile of mankind; Elliot, Barrington, North, Pratt. Indeed, as far as we recollect, there were in the whole House of Commons only two men of distinguished abilities who were not connected with the government; and those two men stood so low in public estimation, that the only service which they could have rendered to any government would have been to oppose it. We speak of Lord George Sackville and Bubb Dodington.

Though most of the official men, and all the members of the cabinet, were reputed Whigs, the Tories were by no means excluded from employment. Pitt had gratified many of them with commands in the militia, which increased both their income and their importance in their own counties; and they were therefore in better humour than at any time since the death of Anne. Some of the party still continued to grumble over their punch at the Cocoa-Tree; but in the House of Commons not a single one of the malecontents durst lift his eyes above the buckle of Pitt's shoe.

Thus there was absolutely no opposition. Nay, there was no

sign from which it could be guessed in what quarter opposition was likely to arise. Several years passed during which Parliament seemed to have abdicated its chief functions. The Journals of the House of Commons during four sessions, contain no trace of a division on a party question. The supplies, though beyond precedent great, were voted without discussion. The most animated debates of that period were on road bills and inclosure bills.

The old King was content; and it mattered little whether he were content or not. It would have been impossible for him to emancipate himself from a ministry so powerful, even if he had been inclined to do so. But he had no such inclination. He had once, indeed, been strongly prejudiced against Pitt, and had repeatedly been ill used by Newcastle; but the vigour and success with which the war had been waged in Germany, and the smoothness with which all public business was carried on, had produced a favourable change in the royal mind.

Such was the posture of affairs when, on the 25th of October 1760, George the Second suddenly died, and George the Third, then twenty-two years old, became King. The situation of George the Third differed widely from that of his grandfather and that of his great-grandfather. Many years had now elapsed since a sovereign of England had been an object of affection to any part of his people. The first two Kings of the house of Hanover had neither those hereditary rights which have often supplied the defect of merit, nor those personal qualities which have often supplied the defect of title. A prince may be popular with little virtue or capacity, if he reigns by birthright derived from a long line of illustrious predecessors. An usurper may be popular, if his genius has saved or aggrandized the nation which he governs. Perhaps no rulers have in our time had a stronger hold on the affection of subjects than the Emperor Francis, and his son in law the Emperor Napoleon. But imagine a ruler with no better title than Napoleon, and no better understanding than Francis. Richard Cromwell was such a ruler; and, as soon as an arm was lifted up against him, he fell without a struggle, amidst universal derision. George the First and George the Second were in a situation which bore some resemblance to that of Richard Cromwell. They were saved from the fate of Richard Cromwell by the strenuous and able exertions of the Whig party, and by the general conviction that the nation had no choice but between the house of Brunswick and Popery. But by no class were the Guelphs regarded with that devoted affection, of which Charles the First, Charles the Second, and James the Second, in spite of the greatest faults, and in the midst of the greatest misfor-

tunes, received innumerable proofs. Those Whigs who stood by the new dynasty so manfully with purse and sword, did so on principles independent of, and indeed almost incompatible with, the sentiment of devoted loyalty. The moderate Tories regarded the foreign dynasty as a great evil, which must be endured for fear of a greater evil. In the eyes of the high Tories, the Elector was the most hateful of robbers and tyrants. The crown of another was on his head; the blood of the brave and loyal was on his hands. Thus, during many years, the Kings of England were objects of strong personal aversion to many of their subjects, and of strong personal attachment to none. They found, indeed, firm and cordial support against the pretender to their throne; but this support was given, not at all for their sake, but for the sake of a religious and political system which would have been endangered by their fall. This support, too, they were compelled to purchase by perpetually sacrificing their private inclinations to the party which had set them on the throne, and which maintained them there.

At the close of the reign of George the Second, the feeling of aversion with which the house of Brunswick had long been regarded by half the nation had died away; but no feeling of affection to that house had yet sprung up. There was little, indeed, in the old King's character to inspire esteem or tenderness. He was not our countryman. He never set foot on our soil till he was more than thirty years old. His speech betrayed his foreign origin and breeding. His love for his native land, though the most amiable part of his character, was not likely to endear him to his British subjects. That he was never so happy as when he could exchange St James's for Hernhausen; that, year after year, our fleets were employed to convoy him to the Continent; that the interests of his kingdom were as nothing to him when compared with the interests of his Electorate, could scarcely be denied. As to the rest, he had neither the qualities which make dulness respectable, nor the qualities which make libertinism attractive. He had been a bad son and a worse father; an unfaithful husband and an ungraceful lover. Not one magnanimous or humane action is recorded of him; but many instances of meanness, and of a harshness which, but for the strong constitutional restraints under which he was placed, might have made the misery of his people.

He died; and at once a new world opened. The young King was a born Englishman. All his tastes and habits, good or bad, were English. No portion of his subjects had any thing to reproach him with. Even the remaining adherents of the house of Stuart could scarcely impute to him the guilt of usurpation. He was not responsible for the Revolution, for the Act of Set-

tlement, for the suppression of the risings of 1715 and of 1745. He was innocent of the blood of Derwentwater and Kilmarnock, of Balmerino and Cameron. Born more than fifty years after the old line had been expelled, fourth in descent and third in succession of the Hanoverian dynasty, he might plead some show of hereditary right. His age, his appearance, and all that was known of his character, conciliated public favour. He was in the bloom of youth; his person and address were pleasing. Scandal imputed to him no vice; and flattery might, without any glaring absurdity, ascribe to him many princely virtues.

It is not strange, therefore, that the sentiment of loyalty, a sentiment which had lately seemed to be as much out of date as the belief in witches or the practice of pilgrimage, should, from the day of his accession, have begun to revive. The Tories in particular, who had always been inclined to King-worship, and who had long felt with pain the want of an idol before whom they could bow themselves down, were as joyful as the priests of Apis, when, after a long interval, they had found a new calf to adore. It was soon clear that George the Third was regarded by a portion of the nation with a very different feeling from that which his two predecessors had inspired. They had been merely first Magistrates, Doges, Stadtholders; he was emphatically a King, the anointed of heaven, the breath of his people's nostrils. The years of the widowhood and mourning of the Tory party were over. Dido had kept faith long enough to the cold ashes of a former lord; she had at last found a comforter, and recognised the vestiges of the old flame. The golden days of Harley would return; the Somersets, the Lees, and the Wyndhams would again surround the throne. The latitudinarian Prelates, who had not been ashamed to correspond with Doddridge and to shake hands with Whiston, would be succeeded by divines of the temper of South and Atterbury. The devotion which had been so signally shown to the house of Stuart—which had been proof against defeats, confiscations, and proscriptions, which perfidy, oppression, ingratitude, could not weary out—was now transferred entire to the house of Brunswick. If George the Third would but accept the homage of the Cavaliers and High-churchmen, he should be to them all that Charles the First and Charles the Second had been.

The Prince whose accession was thus hailed by a great party long estranged from his house, had received from nature a strong will, a firmness of temper to which a harsher name might perhaps be given, and an understanding not, indeed, acute or enlarged, but such as qualified him to be a good man of business. But his character had not yet fully developed itself. He had

been brought up in strict seclusion. The detractors of the Princess-Dowager of Wales affirmed that she had kept her children from commerce with society, in order that she might hold an undivided empire over their minds. She gave a very different explanation of her conduct. She would gladly, she said, see her sons and daughters mix in the world, if they could do so without risk to their morals. But the profligacy of the people of quality alarmed her. The young men were all rakes; the young women made love, instead of waiting till it was made to them. She could not bear to expose those whom she loved best to the contaminating influence of such society. The moral advantages of the system of education which formed the Duke of York, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Queen of Denmark, may perhaps be questioned. George the Third was indeed no libertine; but he brought to the throne a mind only half opened, and was for some time entirely under the influence of his mother and of his Groom of the Stole, John Stuart, Earl of Bute.

The Earl of Bute was scarcely known, even by name, to the country which he was soon to govern. He had indeed, a short time after he came of age, been chosen to fill a vacancy which, in the middle of a parliament, had taken place among the Scotch representative peers. He had disoblged the Whig ministers by giving some silent votes with the Tories, had consequently lost his seat at the next dissolution, and had never been re-elected. Near twenty years had elapsed since he had borne any part in politics. He had passed some of those years at his seat in one of the Hebrides, and from that retirement he had emerged as one of the household of Prince Frederic. Lord Bute, excluded from public life, had found out many ways of amusing his leisure. He was a tolerable actor in private theatricals, and was particularly successful in the part of Lothario. A handsome leg, to which both painters and satirists took care to give prominence, was among his chief qualifications for the stage. He devised quaint dresses for masquerades. He dabbled in geometry, mechanics, and botany. He paid some attention to antiquities and works of art, and was considered in his own circle as a judge of painting, architecture, and poetry. It is said that his spelling was incorrect. But though, in our time, incorrect spelling is justly considered as a proof of sordid ignorance, it would be most unjust to apply the same rule to people who lived a century ago. The novel of Sir Charles Grandison was published about the time at which Lord Bute made his appearance at Leicester House. Our readers may perhaps remember the account which Charlotte Grandison gives of her two lovers. One of them, a fashionable baronet who talks French and Italian fluently, cannot write a

line in his own language without some sin against orthography ; the other, who is represented as a most respectable specimen of the young aristocracy, and something of a virtuoso, is described as spelling pretty well for a lord. On the whole, the Earl of Bute might fairly be called a man of cultivated mind. He was also a man of undoubted honour. But his understanding was narrow, and his manners cold and haughty. His qualifications for the part of a statesman were best described by Frederic, who often indulged in the unprincely luxury of sneering at his dependents. ' Bute,' said his royal highness, ' you are the very man to be envoy at some small proud German court where ' there is nothing to do.'

Scandal represented the Groom of the Stole as the favoured lover of the Princess-Dowager. He was undoubtedly her confidential friend. The influence which the two united exercised over the mind of the King, was for a time unbounded. The princess, a woman and a foreigner, was not likely to be a judicious adviser about affairs of state ; the earl could scarcely be said to have served even a noviciate in politics. His notions of government had been acquired in the society which had been in the habit of assembling round Frederic at Kew and Leicester House. That society consisted principally of Tories, who had been reconciled to the house of Hanover by the civility with which the Prince had treated them, and by the hope of obtaining high preferment when he should come to the throne. Their political creed was a peculiar modification of Toryism. It was the creed neither of the Tories of the seventeenth nor of the Tories of the nineteenth century ; it was the creed, not of Filmer and Sacheverell, not of Perceval and Eldon, but of the sect of which Bolingbroke may be considered as the chief doctor. This sect deserves commendation for having pointed out and justly reprobated some great abuses which sprang up during the long domination of the Whigs. But it is far easier to point out and reprobate abuses than to propose reforms : and the reforms which Bolingbroke proposed would either have been utterly inefficient, or would have produced much more mischief than they would have removed.

The revolution had saved the nation from one class of evils, but had at the same time—such is the imperfection of all things human—engendered or aggravated another class of evils which required new remedies. Liberty and property were secure from the attacks of prerogative. Conscience was respected. No government ventured to infringe any of the rights solemnly recognised by the instrument which had called William and Mary to the throne. But it cannot be denied that, under the new system,

the public interests and the public morals were seriously endangered by corruption and faction. During the long struggle against the Stuarts, the chief object of the most enlightened statesmen had been to strengthen the House of Commons. The struggle was over, the victory was won, the House of Commons was supreme in the state; and all the vices which had till then been latent in the representative system were rapidly developed by prosperity and power. Scarcely had the executive government become really responsible to the House of Commons, when it began to appear that the House of Commons was not really responsible to the nation. Many of the constituent bodies were under the absolute control of individuals; many were notoriously at the command of the highest bidder. The debates were not published; it was very seldom known out of doors how a gentleman had voted. Thus, while the ministry was accountable to the Parliament, the majority of the Parliament was accountable to nobody. Under such circumstances, nothing could be more natural than that the members should insist on being paid for their votes, should form themselves into combinations for the purpose of raising the price of their votes, and should at critical conjunctures extort large wages by threatening a strike. Thus the Whig ministers of George the First and George the Second were compelled to reduce corruption to a system, and to practise it on a gigantic scale.

If we are right as to the cause of these abuses, we can scarcely be wrong as to the remedy. The remedy was surely not to deprive the House of Commons of its weight in the state. Such a course would undoubtedly have put an end to parliamentary corruption and to parliamentary factions: for, when votes cease to be of importance, they will cease to be bought, and when knaves can get nothing by combining, they will cease to combine. But to destroy corruption and faction by introducing despotism, would have been to cure bad by worse. The proper remedy evidently was, to make the House of Commons responsible to the nation; and this was to be effected in two ways—first, by giving publicity to parliamentary proceedings, and thus placing every member on his trial before the tribunal of public opinion; and secondly, by so reforming the constitution of the House, that no man should be able to sit in it who had not been returned by a respectable and independent body of constituents.

Bolingbroke and Bolingbroke's disciples recommended a very different mode of treating the diseases of the state. Their doctrine was, that a vigorous use of the prerogative by a patriot King would at once break all factious combinations, and supersede the pretended necessity of bribing members of Parliament.

The King had only to resolve that he would be master, that he would not be held in thralldom by any set of men, that he would take for ministers any persons in whom he had confidence, without distinction of party, and that he would restrain his servants from influencing, by immoral means, either the constituent bodies or the representative body. This childish scheme proved that those who proposed it knew nothing of the nature of the evil with which they pretended to deal. The real cause of the prevalence of corruption and faction was, that a House of Commons, not accountable to the people, was more powerful than the King. Bolingbroke's remedy could be applied only by a King more powerful than the House of Commons. How was the patriot Prince to govern in defiance of the body without whose consent he could not equip a sloop, keep a battalion under arms, send an embassy, or defray even the charges of his own household? Was he to dissolve the Parliament? And what was he likely to gain by appealing to Sudbury and Old Sarum against the venality of their representatives? Was he to send out privy seals? Was he to levy ship-money? If so, this boasted reform must commence in all probability by civil war, and, if consummated, must be consummated by the establishment of absolute monarchy. Or was the patriot King to carry the House of Commons with him in his upright designs? By what means? Interdicting himself from the use of corrupt influence, what motive was he to address to the Dodingtons and Winningtons? Was cupidity, strengthened by habit, to be laid asleep by a few fine sentences about virtue and union?

Absurd as this theory was, it had many admirers, particularly among men of letters. It was now to be reduced to practice; and the result was, as any man of sagacity must have foreseen, the most piteous and ridiculous of failures.

On the very day of the young King's accession, appeared some signs which indicated the approach of a great change. The speech which he made to his council was not submitted to the cabinet. It was drawn up by Bute, and contained some expressions which might be construed into reflections on the conduct of affairs during the late reign. Pitt remonstrated, and begged that these expressions might be softened down in the printed copy; but it was not till after some hours of altercation that Bute yielded; and, even after Bute had yielded, the King affected to hold out till the following afternoon. On the same day on which this singular contest took place, Bute was not only sworn of the privy council, but introduced into the cabinet.

Soon after this, Lord Holderness, one of the secretaries of state, in pursuance of a plan concerted with the court, resigned

the seals. Bute was instantly appointed to the vacant place. A general election speedily followed, and the new secretary entered parliament in the only way in which he then could enter it, as one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland.*

Had the ministers been firmly united, it can scarcely be doubted that they would have been able to withstand the court. The parliamentary influence of the Whig aristocracy, combined with the genius, the virtue, and the fame of Pitt, would have been irresistible. But there had been in the cabinet of George the Second latent jealousies and enmities, which now began to show themselves. Pitt had been estranged from his old ally Legge, the chancellor of the exchequer. Some of the ministers were envious of Pitt's popularity; others were, not altogether without cause, disgusted by his imperious and haughty demeanour; others, again, were honestly opposed to some parts of his policy. They admitted that he had found the country in the depths of humiliation, and had raised it to the height of glory; they admitted that he had conducted the war with energy, ability, and splendid success. But they began to hint that the drain on the resources of the state was unexampled, and that the public debt was increasing with a speed at which Montague or Godolphin would have stood aghast. Some of the acquisitions made by our fleets and armies were, it was acknowledged, profitable as well as honourable; but, now that George the Second was dead, a courtier might venture to ask why England was to become a party in a dispute between two German powers. What was it to her whether the house of Hapsburg or the house of Brandenburg ruled in Silesia? Why were the best English regiments fighting on the Maine? Why were the Prussian battalions paid with English gold? The great minister seemed to think it beneath him to calculate the price of victory. As long as the Tower guns were fired, as the streets were illuminated, as French banners were carried in triumph through the streets of London, it was to him matter of indifference to what extent the public burdens were augmented. Nay, he seemed to glory in the magnitude of these sacrifices, which the people, fascinated by his eloquence and success, had too readily made, and would long and bitterly regret. There was no check on waste or embezzlement. Our commissaries returned from the camp of Prince Ferdinand to buy boroughs, to rear palaces, to rival the magnificence of the old

* In the reign of Anne, the House of Lords had resolved that, under the 23d article of Union, no Scotch peer could be created a peer of Great Britain. This resolution was not annulled till the year 1782.

aristocracy of the realm. Already had we borrowed, in four years of war, more than the most skilful and economical government would pay in forty years of peace. But the prospect of peace was as remote as ever. It could not be doubted that France, smarting and prostrate, would consent to fair terms of accommodation; but this was not what Pitt wanted. War had made him powerful and popular: with war, all that was brightest in his life was associated: for war, his talents were peculiarly fitted. He had at length begun to love war for its own sake, and was more disposed to quarrel with neutrals than to make peace with enemies.

Such were the views of the Duke of Bedford and of the Earl of Hardwicke; but no member of the government held these opinions so strongly as George Grenville, the treasurer of the navy. George Grenville was brother-in-law of Pitt, and had always been reckoned one of Pitt's personal and political friends. But it is difficult to conceive two men of talents and integrity more utterly unlike each other. Pitt, as his sister often said, knew nothing accurately except Spenser's *Fairy Queen*. He had never applied himself steadily to any branch of knowledge. He was a wretched financier. He never became familiar even with the rules of that House of which he was the brightest ornament. He had never studied public law as a system; and was, indeed, so ignorant of the whole subject, that George the Second, on one occasion, complained bitterly that a man who had never read Vattel should presume to undertake the direction of foreign affairs. But these defects were more than redeemed by high and rare gifts; by a strange power of inspiring great masses of men with confidence and affection; by an eloquence which not only delighted the ear, but stirred the blood and brought tears into the eyes; by originality in devising plans; by vigour in executing them. Grenville, on the other hand, was by nature and habit a man of details. He had been bred a lawyer; and he had brought the industry and acuteness of the Temple into official and parliamentary life. He was supposed to be intimately acquainted with the whole fiscal system of the country. He had paid especial attention to the law of Parliament, and was so learned in all things relating to the privileges and orders of the House of Commons, that those who loved him least pronounced him the only person competent to succeed Onslow in the Chair. His speeches were generally instructive, and sometimes, from the gravity and earnestness with which he spoke, even impressive; but never brilliant, and generally tedious. Indeed, even when he was at the head of affairs, he sometimes found it difficult to obtain the ear of the House. In disposition as well as in intellect, he differed widely from his brother-in-law. Pitt was utterly regardless of money. He

would scarcely stretch out his hand to take it; and, when it came, he threw it away with childish profusion. Grenville, though strictly upright, was grasping and parsimonious. Pitt was a man of excitable nerves, sanguine in hope, easily elated by success and popularity, keenly sensible of injury, but prompt to forgive; Grenville's character was stern, melancholy, and pertinacious. Nothing was more remarkable in him than his inclination always to look on the dark side of things. He was the raven of the House of Commons, always croaking defeat in the midst of triumphs, and bankruptcy with an overflowing exchequer. Burke, with general applause, compared Grenville, in a time of quiet and plenty, to the evil spirit whom Ovid described looking down on the stately temples and wealthy haven of Athens, and scarce able to refrain from weeping because she could find nothing at which to weep. Such a man was not likely to be popular. But to unpopularity Grenville opposed a dogged determination, which sometimes forced even those who hated him to respect him.

It was natural that Pitt and Grenville, being such as they were, should take very different views of the situation of affairs. Pitt could see nothing but the trophies; Grenville could see nothing but the bill. Pitt boasted that England was victorious at once in America, in India, and in Germany—the umpire of the Continent, the mistress of the sea. Grenville cast up the subsidies, sighed over the army extraordinaries, and groaned in spirit to think that the nation had borrowed eight millions in one year.

With a ministry thus divided it was not difficult for Bute to deal. Legge was the first who fell. He had given offence to the young King in the late reign, by refusing to support a creature of Bute at a Hampshire election. He was now not only turned out, but in the closet, when he delivered up his seal of office, was treated with gross incivility.

Pitt, who did not love Legge, saw this event with indifference. But the danger was now fast approaching himself. Charles the Third of Spain had early conceived a deadly hatred of England. Twenty years before, when he was King of the Two Sicilies, he had been eager to join the coalition against Maria Theresa. But an English fleet had suddenly appeared in the Bay of Naples. An English captain had landed, had proceeded to the palace, had laid a watch on the table, and had told his majesty that, within an hour, a treaty of neutrality must be signed, or a bombardment would commence. The treaty was signed; the squadron sailed out of the bay twenty-four hours after it had sailed in; and from that day the ruling passion of the humbled Prince was aversion to the English name. He was at length in a situation

in which he might hope to gratify that passion. He had recently become King of Spain and the Indies. He saw, with envy and apprehension, the triumphs of our navy, and the rapid extension of our colonial Empire. He was a Bourbon, and sympathized with the distress of the house from which he sprang. He was a Spaniard; and no Spaniard could bear to see Gibraltar and Minorca in the possession of a foreign power. Impelled by such feelings, Charles concluded a secret treaty with France. By this treaty, known as the Family Compact, the two powers bound themselves, not in express words, but by the clearest implication, to make war on England in common. Spain postponed the declaration of hostilities only till her fleet, laden with the treasures of America, should have arrived.

The existence of the treaty could not be kept a secret from Pitt. He acted as a man of his capacity and energy might be expected to act. He at once proposed to declare war against Spain, and to intercept the American fleet. He had determined, it is said, to attack without delay both Havanna and the Philippines.

His wise and resolute counsel was rejected. Bute was foremost in opposing it, and was supported by almost the whole cabinet. Some of the ministers doubted, or affected to doubt, the correctness of Pitt's intelligence; some shrank from the responsibility of advising a course so bold and decided as that which he proposed; some were weary of his ascendancy, and were glad to be rid of him on any pretext. One only of his colleagues agreed with him, his brother-in-law, Earl Temple.

Pitt and Temple resigned their offices. To Pitt the young King behaved at parting in the most gracious manner. Pitt, who, proud and fiery every where else, was always meek and humble in the closet, was moved even to tears. The King and the favourite urged him to accept some substantial mark of royal gratitude. Would he like to be appointed governor of Canada? A salary of £5000 a-year should be annexed to the office. Residence would not be required. It was true that the governor of Canada, as the law then stood, could not be a member of the House of Commons. But a bill should be brought in, authorizing Pitt to hold his government together with a seat in Parliament, and in the preamble should be set forth his claims to the gratitude of his country. Pitt answered, with all delicacy, that his anxieties were rather for his wife and family than for himself, and that nothing would be so acceptable to him as a mark of royal goodness which might be beneficial to those who were dearest to him. The hint was taken. The same gazette which announced the retirement of the secretary of state, announced also, that, in consideration of his

great public services, his wife had been created a peeress in her own right, and a pension of three thousand pounds a-year, for three lives, had been bestowed on himself. It was doubtless thought that the rewards and honours conferred on the great minister would have a conciliatory effect on the public mind. Perhaps, too, it was thought that his popularity, which had partly arisen from the contempt which he had always shown for money, would be damaged by a pension; and, indeed, a crowd of libels instantly appeared, in which he was accused of having sold his country. Many of his true friends thought that he would have best consulted the dignity of his character by refusing to accept any pecuniary reward from the court. Nevertheless, the general opinion of his talents, virtues, and services, remained unaltered. Addresses were presented to him from several large towns. London showed its admiration and affection in a still more marked manner. Soon after his resignation came the Lord Mayor's day. The King and the royal family dined at Guildhall. Pitt was one of the guests. The young sovereign, seated by his bride in his state coach, received a remarkable lesson. He was scarcely noticed. All eyes were fixed on the fallen minister; all acclamations directed to him. The streets, the balconies, the chimney-tops, burst into a roar of delight as his chariot passed by. The ladies waved their handkerchiefs from the windows. The common people clung to the wheels, shook hands with the footmen, and even kissed the horses. Cries of 'No Bute!' 'No Newcastle salmon!' were mingled with the shouts of 'Pitt for ever!' When Pitt entered Guildhall, he was welcomed by loud huzzas and clapping of hands, in which the very magistrates of the city joined. Lord Bute, in the mean time, was hooted and pelted through Cheapside, and would, it was thought, have been in some danger, if he had not taken the precaution of surrounding his carriage with a strong body-guard of boxers. Many persons blamed the conduct of Pitt on this occasion as disrespectful to the King. Indeed, Pitt himself afterwards owned that he had done wrong. He was led into this error, as he was afterwards led into more serious errors, by the influence of his turbulent and mischievous brother-in-law, Temple.

The events which immediately followed Pitt's retirement raised his fame higher than ever. War with Spain proved to be, as he had predicted, inevitable. News came from the West Indies that Martinique had been taken by an expedition which he had sent forth. Havanna fell; and it was known that he had planned an attack on Havanna. Manilla capitulated; and it was believed that he had meditated a blow against Manilla. The American fleet, which he had proposed to intercept, had

unloaded an immense cargo of bullion in the haven of Cadiz, before Bute could be convinced that the court of Madrid really entertained hostile intentions.

The session of Parliament which followed Pitt's retirement passed over without any violent storm. Lord Bute took on himself the most prominent part in the House of Lords. He had become secretary of state, and indeed prime minister, without having once opened his lips in public except as an actor. There was, therefore, no small curiosity to know how he would acquit himself. Members of the House of Commons crowded the bar of the Lords, and covered the steps of the throne. It was generally expected that the orator would break down; but his most malicious hearers were forced to own that he had made a better figure than they expected. They, indeed, ridiculed his action as theatrical, and his style as tumid. They were especially amused by the long pauses which, not from hesitation but from affectation, he made at all the emphatic words, and Charles Townshend cried out, 'Minute guns!' The general opinion however was, that if Bute had been early practised in debate, he might have become an impressive speaker.

In the Commons, George Grenville had been entrusted with the lead. The task was not, as yet, a very difficult one: for Pitt did not think fit to raise the standard of opposition. His speeches at this time were distinguished, not only by that eloquence in which he excelled all his rivals, but also by a temperance and a modesty which had too often been wanting to his character. When war was declared against Spain, he justly laid claim to the merit of having foreseen what had at length become manifest to all, but he carefully abstained from arrogant and acrimonious expressions; and this abstinence was the more honourable to him, because his temper, never very placid, was now severely tried, both by gout and by calumny. The courtiers had adopted a mode of warfare, which was soon turned with far more formidable effect against themselves. Half the inhabitants of the Grub Street garrets paid their milk-scores, and got their shirts out of pawn, by abusing Pitt. His German war, his subsidies, his pension, his wife's peerage, were shin of beef and gin, blankets and baskets of small coal, to the starving poetasters of the Fleet. Even in the House of Commons, he was, on one occasion during this session, assailed with an insolence and malice which called forth the indignation of men of all parties; but he endured the outrage with majestic patience. In his younger days he had been but too prompt to retaliate on those who attacked him; but now, conscious of his great services, and of the space which he filled in the eyes of all mankind, he would not stoop to personal squabbles. 'This is no season,' he

said, in the debate on the Spanish war, 'for altercation and 'recrimination. A day has arrived when every Englishman 'should stand forth for his country. Arm the whole; be one 'people; forget every thing but the public. I set you the 'example. Harassed by slanderers, sinking under pain and 'disease, for the public I forget both my wrongs and my infirmities!' On a general review of his life, we are inclined to think that his genius and virtue never shone with so pure an effulgence as during the session of 1762.

The session drew towards the close; and Bute, emboldened by the acquiescence of the Houses, resolved to strike another great blow, and to become first minister in name as well as in reality. That coalition, which a few months before had seemed all powerful, had been dissolved. The retreat of Pitt had deprived the government of popularity. Newcastle had exulted in the fall of the illustrious colleague whom he envied and dreaded, and had not foreseen that his own doom was at hand. He still tried to flatter himself that he was at the head of the government; but insults heaped on insults at length undeceived him. Places which had always been considered as in his gift, were bestowed without any reference to him. His expostulations only called forth significant hints that it was time for him to retire. One day he pressed on Bute the claims of a Whig Prelate to the archbishopric of York. 'If your grace thinks so highly of him,' answered Bute, 'I wonder that you did not promote him when 'you had the power.' Still the old man clung with a desperate grasp to the wreck. Seldom, indeed, have Christian meekness and Christian humility equalled the meekness and humility of his patient and abject ambition. At length he was forced to understand that all was over. He quitted that court where he had held high office during forty-five years, and hid his shame and regret among the cedars of Claremont. Bute became first lord of the treasury.

The favourite had undoubtedly committed a great error. It is impossible to imagine a tool better suited to his purposes than that which he thus threw away, or rather put into the hands of his enemies. If Newcastle had been suffered to play at being first minister, Bute might securely and quietly have enjoyed the substance of power. The gradual introduction of Tories into all the departments of the government might have been effected without any violent clamour, if the chief of the great Whig connection had been ostensibly at the head of affairs. This was strongly represented to Bute by Lord Mansfield, a man who may justly be called the father of modern Toryism. Toryism modified to suit an order of things under which the House of Commons is the most powerful body in the state. T.

theories which had dazzled Bute could not impose on the fine intellect of Mansfield. The temerity with which Bute provoked the hostility of powerful and deeply-rooted interests, was displeasing to Mansfield's cold and timid nature. Expostulation, however, was vain. Bute was impatient of advice, drunk with success, eager to be, in show as well as in reality, the head of the government. He had engaged in an undertaking, in which a screen was absolutely necessary to his success, and even to his safety. He found an excellent screen ready in the very place where it was most needed; and he rudely pushed it away.

And now the new system of government came into full operation. For the first time since the accession of the house of Hanover, the Tory party was in the ascendant. The prime minister himself was a Tory. Lord Egremont, who had succeeded Pitt as secretary of state, was a Tory, and the son of a Tory. Sir Francis Dashwood, a man of slender parts, of small experience, and of notoriously immoral character, was made chancellor of the exchequer, for no reason that could be imagined, except that he was a Tory and had been a Jacobite. The royal household was filled with men whose favourite toast, a few years before, had been the 'King over the water.' The relative position of the two great national seats of learning was suddenly changed. The University of Oxford had long been the chief seat of disaffection. In troubled times, the High Street had been lined with bayonets; the colleges had been searched by the King's messengers. Grave doctors were in the habit of talking very Ciceronian treason in the theatre; and the under-graduates drank bumpers to Jacobite toasts, and chanted Jacobite airs. Of four successive Chancellors of the University, one had notoriously been in the Pretender's service; the other three were fully believed to be in secret correspondence with the exiled family. Cambridge had therefore been especially favoured by the Hanoverian Princes, and had shown herself grateful for their patronage. George the First had enriched her library; George the Second had contributed munificently to her senate-house. Bishoprics and deaneries were showered on her children. Her Chancellor was Newcastle, the chief of the Whig aristocracy; her High-Steward was Hardwicke, the Whig head of the law. Both her burgesses had held office under the Whig ministry. Times had now changed. The University of Cambridge was received at St James's with comparative coldness. The answers to the addresses of Oxford were all graciousness and warmth.

those The watchwords of the new government were prerogative and of purity. The sovereign was no longer to be a puppet in the hands of any subject, or of any combination of subjects. George

the Third would not be forced to take ministers whom he disliked, as his grandfather had been forced to take Pitt. George the Third would not be forced to part with any whom he delighted to honour, as his grandfather had been forced to part with Carteret. At the same time, the system of bribery which had grown up during the late reigns was to cease. It was ostentatiously proclaimed that, since the accession of the young King, neither constituents nor representatives had been bought with the secret service money. To free Britain from corruption and oligarchical cabals, to detach her from continental connections, to bring the bloody and expensive war with France and Spain to a close, such were the specious objects which Bute professed to procure.

Some of these objects he attained. England withdrew, at the cost of a deep stain on her faith, from her German connections. The war with France and Spain was terminated by a peace, honourable indeed and advantageous to our country, yet less honourable and less advantageous than might have been expected from a long and almost unbroken series of victories, by land and sea, in every part of the world. But the only effect of Bute's domestic administration was to make faction wilder and corruption fouler than ever.

The mutual animosity of the Whig and Tory parties had begun to languish after the fall of Walpole, and had seemed to be almost extinct at the close of the reign of George the Second. It now revived in all its force. Many Whigs, it is true, were still in office. The Duke of Bedford had signed the treaty with France. The Duke of Devonshire, though much out of humour, still continued to be Lord-Chamberlain. Grenville who led the House of Commons, and Fox who still enjoyed in silence the immense gains of the Pay-Office, had always been regarded as strong Whigs. But the bulk of the party throughout the country regarded the new minister with abhorrence. There was, indeed, no want of popular themes for invective against his character. He was a favourite; and favourites have always been odious in this country. No mere favourite had been at the head of the government, since the dagger of Felton reached the heart of the Duke of Buckingham. After that event, the most arbitrary and the most frivolous of the Stuarts had felt the necessity of confiding the chief direction of affairs to men who had given some proof of parliamentary or official talent. Strafford, Falkland, Clarendon, Clifford, Shaftesbury, Lauderdale, Danby, Temple, Halifax, Rochester, Sunderland, whatever their faults might be, were all men of acknowledged ability. They did not owe their eminence merely to the favour of the sovereign. On

the contrary, they owed the favour of the sovereign to their eminence. Most of them, indeed, had first attracted the notice of the court by the capacity and vigour which they had shown in opposition. The Revolution seemed to have for ever secured the state against the domination of a Carr or a Villiers. Now, however, the personal regard of the King had at once raised a man who had seen nothing of public business, who had never opened his lips in Parliament, over the heads of a crowd of eminent orators, financiers, diplomatists. From a private gentleman, this fortunate minion had at once been turned into a secretary of state. He had made his maiden speech when at the head of the administration. The vulgar resorted to a simple explanation of the phenomenon, and the coarsest ribaldry against the Princess Mother was scrawled on every wall and in every alley.

This was not all. The spirit of party, roused by impolitic provocation from its long sleep, roused in turn a still fiercer and more malignant Fury, the spirit of national animosity. The grudge of Whig against Tory was mingled with the grudge of Englishman against Scot. The two sections of the great British people had not yet been indissolubly blended together. The events of 1715 and of 1745 had left painful and enduring traces. The tradesmen of Cornhill had been in dread of seeing their tills and warehouses plundered by bare-legged mountaineers from the Grampians. They still recollected that Black Friday, when the news came that the rebels were at Derby, when all the shops in the city were closed, and when the Bank of England began to pay in sixpences. The Scots, on the other hand, remembered, with natural resentment, the severity with which the insurgents had been chastised, the military outrages, the humiliating laws, the heads fixed on Temple Bar, the fires and quartering-blocks on Kennington Common. The favourite did not suffer the English to forget from what part of the island he came. The cry of all the south was that the public offices, the army, the navy, were filled with high-cheeked Drummonds and Erskines, Macdonalds and Macgillivrays, who could not talk a Christian tongue, and some of whom had but lately begun to wear Christian breeches. All the old jokes on hills without trees, girls without stockings, men eating the food of horses, pails emptied from the fourteenth story, were pointed against these lucky adventurers. To the honour of the Scots it must be said, that their prudence and their pride restrained them from retaliation. Like the princess in the Arabian tale, they stopped their ears tight, and, unmoved by the shrillest notes of abuse, walked on, without once looking round, straight towards the Golden Fountain.

Bute, who had always been considered as a man of taste and reading, affected, from the moment of his elevation, the charac-

ter of a *Mæcenas*. If he expected to conciliate the public by encouraging literature and art, he was grievously mistaken. Indeed, none of the objects of his munificence, with the single exception of Johnson, can be said to have been well selected; and the public, not unnaturally, ascribed the selection of Johnson rather to the Doctor's political prejudices than to his literary merits. For a wretched scribbler named Shebbeare, who had nothing in common with Johnson except violent Jacobitism, and who had stood in the pillory for a libel on the Revolution, was honoured with a mark of royal approbation, similar to that which was bestowed on the author of the *English Dictionary*, and of the *Vanity of Human Wishes*. It was remarked that Adam, a Scotchman, was the court architect, and that Ramsay, a Scotchman, was the court painter, and was preferred to Reynolds. Mallet, a Scotchman of no high literary fame, and of infamous character, partook largely of the liberality of the government. John Home, a Scotchman, was rewarded for the tragedy of Douglas, both with a pension and with a sinecure place. But, when the author of the *Bard*, and of the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, ventured to ask for a Professorship, the emoluments of which he much needed, and for the duties of which he was, in many respects, better qualified than any man living, he was refused; and the post was bestowed on the pedagogue under whose care the favourite's son-in-law, Sir James Lowther, had made such signal proficiency in the graces and in the humane virtues.

Thus, the first lord of the treasury was detested by many as a Tory, by many as a favourite, and by many as a Scot. All the hatred which flowed from these various sources soon mingled, and was directed in one torrent of obloquy against the treaty of peace. The Duke of Bedford, who negotiated that treaty, was hooted through the streets. Bute was attacked in his chair, and was with difficulty rescued by a troop of guards. He could hardly walk the streets in safety without disguising himself. A gentleman who died not many years ago used to say, that he once recognised the favourite Earl in the piazza of Covent-Garden, muffled in a large coat, and with a hat and wig drawn down over his brows. His lordship's established type with the mob was a jack-boot, a wretched pun on his Christian name and title. A jack-boot, generally accompanied by a petticoat, was sometimes fastened on a gallows, and sometimes committed to the flames. Libels on the court, exceeding in audacity and rancour any that had been published for many years, now appeared daily both in prose and verse. Wilkes, with lively insolence, compared the mother of George the Third to the mother of Edward the Third, and the Scotch minister to the gentle Mor-

timer. Churchill, with all the energy of hatred, deplored the fate of his country, invaded by a new race of savages, more cruel and ravenous than the Picts or the Danes, the poor, proud children of Leprosy and Hunger. It is a slight circumstance, but deserves to be recorded, that in this year pamphleteers first ventured to print at length the names of the great men whom they lampooned. George the Second had always been the K——. His ministers had been Sir R—— W——, Mr P——, and the Duke of N——. But the libellers of George the Third, of the Princess Mother, and of Lord Bute, did not give quarter to a single vowel.

It was supposed that Lord Temple secretly encouraged the most scurrilous assailants of the government. In truth, those who knew his habits tracked him as men track a mole. It was his nature to grub underground. Whenever a heap of dirt was flung up, it might well be suspected that he was at work in some foul crooked labyrinth below. But Pitt turned away from the filthy work of opposition, with the same scorn with which he had turned away from the filthy work of government. He had the magnanimity to proclaim every where the disgust which he felt at the insults offered by his own adherents to the Scottish nation, and missed no opportunity of extolling the courage and fidelity which the Highland regiments had displayed through the whole war. But, though he disdained to use any but lawful and honourable weapons, it was well known that his fair blows were likely to be far more formidable than the privy thrusts of his brother-in-law's stiletto.

Bute's heart began to fail him. The Houses were about to meet. The treaty would instantly be the subject of discussion. It was probable that Pitt, the great Whig connection, and the multitude, would all be on the same side. The favourite had professed to hold in abhorrence those means by which preceding ministers had kept the House of Commons in good-humour. He now began to think that he had been too scrupulous. His Utopian visions were at an end. It was necessary, not only to bribe, but to bribe more shamelessly and flagitiously than his predecessors, in order to make up for lost time. A majority must be secured, no matter by what means. Could Grenville do this? Would he do it? His firmness and ability had not yet been tried in any perilous crisis. He had been generally regarded as a humble follower of his brother Temple, and of his brother-in-law Pitt, and was supposed, though with little reason, to be still favourably inclined towards them. Other aid must be called in. And where was other aid to be found?

There was one man whose sharp and manly logic had often in debate been found a match for the lofty and impassioned rhetoric

of Pitt, whose talents for jobbing were not inferior to his talents for debate, whose dauntless spirit shrank from no difficulty or danger, and who was as little troubled with scruples as with fears. Henry Fox, or nobody, could weather the storm which was about to burst. Yet was he a person to whom the court, even in that extremity, was unwilling to have recourse. He had always been regarded as a Whig of the Whigs. He had been the friend and disciple of Walpole. He had long been connected by close ties with William Duke of Cumberland. By the Tories he was more hated than any man living. So strong was their aversion to him, that when, in the late reign, he attempted to form a party against the Duke of Newcastle, they had thrown all their weight into Newcastle's scale. By the Scots, Fox was abhorred as the confidential friend of the conqueror of Culloden. He was, on personal grounds, most obnoxious to the Princess Mother. For he had, immediately after her husband's death, advised the late King to take the education of her son, the heir-apparent, entirely out of her hands. He had recently given, if possible, still deeper offence; for he had indulged, not without some ground, the ambitious hope that his beautiful sister-in-law, the Lady Sarah Lennox, might be queen of England. It had been observed that the King at one time rode every morning by the grounds of Holland House, and that, on such occasions, Lady Sarah, dressed like a shepherdess at a masquerade, was making hay close to the road, which was then separated by no wall from the lawn. On account of the part which Fox had taken in this singular love-affair, he was the only member of the Privy Council who was not summoned to the meeting at which his majesty announced his intended marriage with the Princess of Mecklenburg. Of all the statesmen of the age, therefore, it seemed that Fox was the last with whom Bute, the Tory, the Scot, the favourite of the Princess Mother, could, under any circumstances, act. Yet to Fox Bute was now compelled to apply.

Fox had many noble and amiable qualities, which in private life shone forth in full lustre, and made him dear to his children, to his dependents, and to his friends; but as a public man he had no title to esteem. In him the vices which were common to the whole school of Walpole appeared, not perhaps in their worst, but certainly in their most prominent form; for his parliamentary and official talents made all his faults conspicuous. His courage, his vehement temper, his contempt for appearances, led him to display much that others, quite as unscrupulous as himself, covered with a decent veil. He was the most unpopular of the statesmen of his time, not because he sinned more than many of them, but because he canted less.

He felt his unpopularity ; but he felt it after the fashion of strong minds. He became, not cautious, but reckless, and faced the rage of the whole nation with a scowl of inflexible defiance. He was born with a sweet and generous temper ; but he had been goaded and baited into a savageness which was not natural to him, and which amazed and shocked those who knew him best. Such was the man to whom Bute, in extreme need, applied for succour.

Such succour Fox was not unwilling to afford. Though by no means of an envious temper, he had undoubtedly contemplated the success and popularity of Pitt with bitter mortification. He thought himself Pitt's match as a debater, and Pitt's superior as a man of business. They had long been regarded as well paired rivals. They had started fair in the career of ambition. They had long run side by side. At length Fox had taken the lead, and Pitt had fallen behind. Then had come a sudden turn of fortune, like that in Virgil's foot-race. Fox had stumbled in the mire, and had not only been defeated, but befouled. Pitt had reached the goal, and received the prize. The emoluments of the Pay-Office might induce the defeated statesman to submit in silence to the ascendancy of his competitor, but could not satisfy a mind conscious of great powers, and sore from great vexations. As soon, therefore, as a party arose adverse to the war and to the supremacy of the great war-minister, the hopes of Fox began to revive. His feuds with the Princess Mother, with the Scots, with the Tories, he was ready to forget, if, by the help of his old enemies, he could now regain the importance which he had lost, and confront Pitt on equal terms.

The alliance was, therefore, soon concluded. Fox was assured that, if he would pilot the government out of its embarrassing situation, he should be rewarded with a peerage, of which he had long been desirous. He undertook on his side to obtain, by fair or foul means, a vote in favour of the peace. In consequence of this arrangement he became leader of the House of Commons ; and Grenville, stifling his vexation as well as he could, sullenly acquiesced in the change.

Fox had expected that his influence would secure to the court the cordial support of some eminent Whigs who were his personal friends, particularly of the Duke of Cumberland and of the Duke of Devonshire. He was disappointed, and soon found that, in addition to all his other difficulties, he must reckon on the opposition of the ablest prince of the blood, and of the great house of Cavendish.

But he had pledged himself to win the battle ; and he was not a man to go back. It was no time for squeamishness. Bute was made to comprehend that the ministry could be saved only by

practising the tactics of Walpole to an extent at which Walpole himself would have stared. The Pay-Office was turned into a mart for votes. Hundreds of members were closeted there with Fox, and, as there is too much reason to believe, departed carrying with them the wages of infamy. It was affirmed by persons who had the best opportunities of obtaining information, that twenty-five thousand pounds were thus paid away in a single morning. The lowest bribe given, it was said, was a bank-note for two hundred pounds.

Intimidation was joined with corruption. All ranks, from the highest to the lowest, were to be taught that the King would be obeyed. The Lords-Lieutenant of several counties were dismissed. The Duke of Devonshire was especially singled out as the victim by whose fate the magnates of England were to take warning. His wealth, rank, and influence, his stainless private character, and the constant attachment of his family to the house of Hanover, did not secure him from gross personal indignity. It was known that he disapproved of the course which the government had taken; and it was accordingly determined to humble the Prince of the Whigs, as he had been nicknamed by the Princess Mother. He went to the palace to pay his duty. 'Tell him,' said the King to a page, 'that I will not see him.' The page hesitated. 'Go to him,' said the King, 'and tell him those very words.' The message was delivered. The Duke tore off his gold key, and went away boiling with anger. His relations who were in office instantly resigned. A few days later, the King called for the list of privy-councillors, and with his own hand struck out the Duke's name.

In this step there was at least courage, though little wisdom or good-nature. But as nothing was too high for the revenge of the court, so also was nothing too low. A persecution, such as had never been known before and has never been known since, raged in every public department. Great numbers of humble and laborious clerks were deprived of their bread, not because they had neglected their duties, not because they had taken an active part against the ministry, but merely because they had owed their situations to the recommendation of some nobleman or gentleman who was against the peace. The proscription extended to tide-waiters, to gaugers, to doorkeepers. One poor man to whom a pension had been given for his gallantry in a fight with smugglers, was deprived of it because he had been befriended by the Duke of Grafton. An aged widow, who, on account of her husband's services in the navy, had, many years before, been made housekeeper to a public office, was dismissed from her situation, because it was imagined that she was distantly connected by marriage with the Cavendish family.

The public clamour, as may well be supposed, grew daily louder and louder. But the louder it grew, the more resolutely did Fox go on with the work which he had begun. His old friends could not conceive what had possessed him. 'I could forgive,' said the Duke of Cumberland, 'Fox's political vagaries, but I am quite confounded by his inhumanity. Surely he used to be the best-natured of men.'

At last Fox went so far as to take a legal opinion on the question, whether the patents granted by George the Second were binding on George the Third. It is said that, if his colleagues had not flinched, he would at once have turned out the tellers of the Exchequer and justices in Eyre.

Meanwhile the Parliament met. The ministers, more hated by the people than ever, were secure of a majority, and they had also reason to hope that they would have the advantage in the debates as well as in the divisions. For Pitt was confined to his chamber by a severe attack of gout. His friends moved to defer the consideration of the treaty till he should be able to attend. But the motion was rejected. The great day arrived. The discussion had lasted some time, when a loud huzza was heard in Palace-yard. The noise came nearer and nearer, up the stairs, through the lobby. The door opened, and from the midst of a shouting multitude came forth Pitt, borne in the arms of his attendants. His face was thin and ghastly, his limbs swathed in flannel, his crutch in his hand. The bearers set him down within the bar. His friends instantly surrounded him, and with their help he crawled to his seat near the table. In this condition he spoke three hours and a half against the peace. During that time he was repeatedly forced to sit down and to use cordials. It may well be supposed that his voice was faint, that his action was languid, and that his speech, though occasionally brilliant and impressive, was feeble when compared with his best oratorical performances. But those who remembered what he had done, and who saw what he suffered, listened to him with emotion stronger than any that mere eloquence can produce. He was unable to stay for the division, and was carried away from the House amidst shouts as loud as those which had announced his arrival.

A large majority approved the peace. The exultation of the court was boundless. 'Now,' exclaimed the Princess Mother, 'my son is really King.' The young sovereign spoke of himself as freed from the bondage in which his grandfather had been held. On one point, it was announced, his mind was unalterably made up. Under no circumstances whatever should those Whig grandees, who had enslaved his predecessors and endeavoured to enslave himself, be restored to power.

His vaunting was premature. The real strength of the favourite was by no means proportioned to the number of votes which he had, on one particular division, been able to command. He was soon again in difficulties. The most important part of his budget was a tax on cider. This measure was opposed, not only by those who were generally hostile to his administration, but also by many of his supporters. The name of excise had always been hateful to the Tories. One of the chief crimes of Walpole, in their eyes, had been his partiality for this mode of raising money. The Tory Johnson had in his Dictionary given so scurrilous a definition of the word 'excise,' that the Commissioners of excise had seriously thought of prosecuting him. The counties which the new impost particularly affected had always been Tory counties. It was the boast of John Philips, the poet of the English vintage, that the Cider-land had ever been faithful to the throne, and that all the pruning-hooks of her thousand orchards had been beaten into swords for the service of the ill-fated Stuarts. The effect of Bute's fiscal scheme was to produce an union between the gentry and yeomanry of the Cider-land and the Whigs of the capital. Herefordshire and Worcestershire were in a flame. The city of London, though not so directly interested, was, if possible, still more excited. The debates on this question irreparably damaged the government. Dashwood's financial statement had been confused and absurd beyond belief, and had been received by the House with roars of laughter. He had sense enough to be conscious of his unfitness for the high situation which he held, and exclaimed, in a comical fit of despair, 'What shall I do? The boys will point at me in the street, and cry, "There goes the worst chancellor of the exchequer that ever was."' George Grenville came to the rescue, and spoke strongly on his favourite theme, the profusion with which the late war had been carried on. That profusion, he said, had made taxes necessary. He called on the gentlemen opposite to him to say where they would have a tax laid, and dwelt on this topic with his usual prolixity. 'Let them tell me where,' he repeated, in a monotonous and somewhat fretful tone. 'I say, sir, let them tell me where. I repeat it, sir; I am entitled to say to them—'tell me where.' Unluckily for him, Pitt had come down to the House that night, and had been bitterly provoked by the reflections thrown on the war. He revenged himself by murmuring, in a whine resembling Grenville's, a line of a well-known song, 'Gentle shepherd, tell me where.' 'If,' cried Grenville, 'gentle men are to be treated in this way'——Pitt, as was his fashion when he meant to mark extreme contempt, rose deliberately, made his bow, and walked out of the House, leaving his brother-in-law in convulsions of rage, and every body else in convulsions

of laughter. It was long before Grenville lost the nickname of the gentle shepherd.

But the ministry had vexations still more serious to endure. The hatred which the Tories and Scots bore to Fox was implacable. In a moment of extreme peril, they had consented to put themselves under his guidance. But the aversion with which they regarded him broke forth as soon as the crisis seemed to be over. Some of them attacked him about the accounts of the Pay-Office. Some of them rudely interrupted him when speaking, by laughter and ironical cheers. He was naturally desirous to escape from so disagreeable a situation, and demanded the peerage which had been promised as the reward of his services.

It was clear that there must be some change in the composition of the ministry. But scarcely any, even of those who, from their situation, might be supposed to be in all the secrets of the government, anticipated what really took place. To the amazement of the Parliament and the nation, it was suddenly announced that Bute had resigned.

Twenty different explanations of this strange step were suggested. Some attributed it to profound design, and some to sudden panic. Some said that the lampoons of the opposition had driven the Earl from the field; some that he had taken office only in order to bring the war to a close, and had always meant to retire when that object had been accomplished. He publicly assigned ill health as his reason for quitting business, and privately complained that he was not cordially seconded by his colleagues; and that Lord Mansfield, in particular, whom he had himself brought into the cabinet, gave him no support in the House of Peers. Lord Mansfield was, indeed, far too sagacious not to perceive that Bute's situation was one of great peril, and far too timorous to thrust himself into peril for the sake of another. The probability, however, is, that Bute's conduct on this occasion, like the conduct of most men on most occasions, was determined by mixed motives. We suspect that he was sick of office; for this is a feeling much more common among ministers than persons who see public life from a distance are disposed to believe. And nothing could be more natural than that this feeling should take possession of the mind of Bute. In general, a statesman climbs by slow degrees. Many laborious years elapse before he reaches the topmost pinnacle of preferment. In the earlier part of his career, therefore, he is constantly lured on by seeing something above him. During his ascent he gradually becomes inured to the annoyances which belong to a life of ambition. By the time that he has attained the highest point, he has become patient of labour and callous of abuse. He is kept constant to his vocation, in spite of all its discomforts, at first by hope,

and at last by habit. It was not so with Bute. His whole public life lasted little more than two years. On the day on which he became a politician he became a cabinet minister. In a few months he was, both in name and in show, chief of the administration. Greater than he had been he could not be. If what he already possessed was vanity and vexation of spirit, no delusion remained to entice him onward. He had been cloyed with the pleasures of ambition before he had been seasoned to its pains. His habits had not been such as were likely to fortify his mind against obloquy and public hatred. He had reached his forty-eighth year in dignified ease, without knowing, by personal experience, what it was to be ridiculed and slandered. All at once, without any previous initiation, he had found himself exposed to such a storm of invective and satire as had never burst on the head of any statesman. The emoluments of office were now nothing to him; for he had just succeeded to a princely property by the death of his father-in-law. All the honours which could be bestowed on him he had already secured. He had obtained the Garter for himself, and a British peerage for his son. He seems also to have imagined, that by quitting the treasury he should escape from danger and abuse without really resigning power, and should still be able to exercise in private supreme influence over the royal mind.

Whatever may have been his motives, he retired. Fox at the same time took refuge in the House of Lords; and George Grenville became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

We believe that those who made this arrangement fully intended that Grenville should be a mere puppet in the hands of Bute; for Grenville was as yet very imperfectly known even to those who had observed him long. He passed for a mere official drudge; and he had all the industry, the minute accuracy, the formality, the tediousness, which belong to the character. But he had other qualities which had not yet shown themselves—devouring ambition, dauntless courage, self-confidence amounting to presumption, and a temper which could not endure opposition. He was not disposed to be any body's tool; and he had no attachment, political or personal, to Bute. The two men had, indeed, nothing in common, except a strong propensity towards harsh and unpopular courses. Their principles were fundamentally different.

Bute was a Tory. Grenville would have been very angry with any person who should have denied his claim to be a Whig. He was more prone to tyrannical measures than Bute; but he loved tyranny only when disguised under the forms of constitu-

tional liberty. He mixed up, after a fashion then not very unusual, the theories of the republicans of the seventeenth century with the technical maxims of English law, and thus succeeded in combining anarchical speculation with arbitrary practice. The voice of the people was the voice of God; but the only legitimate organ through which the voice of the people could be uttered was the Parliament. All power was from the people; but to the Parliament the whole power of the people had been delegated. No Oxonian divine had ever, even in the years which immediately followed the Restoration, demanded for the King so abject, so unreasoning a homage, as Grenville, on what he considered as the purest Whig principles, demanded for the Parliament. As he wished to see the Parliament despotic over the nation, so he wished to see it also despotic over the court. In his view, the prime minister, possessed of the confidence of the House of Commons, ought to be mayor of the palace. The King was a mere Childeric or Chilperic, who might well think himself lucky in being permitted to enjoy such handsome apartments at St James's, and so fine a park at Windsor.

Thus the opinions of Bute and those of Grenville were diametrically opposed. Nor was there any private friendship between the two statesmen. Grenville's nature was not forgiving; and he well remembered how, a few months before, he had been compelled to yield the lead of the House of Commons to Fox.

We are inclined to think, on the whole, that the worst administration which has governed England since the Revolution was that of George Grenville. His public acts may be classed under two heads, outrages on the liberty of the people, and outrages on the dignity of the crown.

He began by making war on the press. John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, was singled out for persecution. Wilkes had, till very lately, been known chiefly as one of the most profane, licentious, and agreeable rakes about town. He was a man of taste, reading, and engaging manners. His sprightly conversation was the delight of green-rooms and taverns, and pleased even grave hearers when he was sufficiently under restraint to abstain from detailing the particulars of his amours, and from breaking jests on the New Testament. His expensive debaucheries forced him to have recourse to the Jews. He was soon a ruined man, and determined to try his chance as a political adventurer. In parliament he did not succeed. His speaking, though pert, was feeble, and by no means interested his hearers so much as to make them forget his face, which was so hideous that the caricaturists were forced, in their own despite, to flatter him. As a writer, he made a bet-

ter figure. He set up a weekly paper, called the *North Briton*. This journal, written with some pleasantry, and great audacity and impudence, had a considerable number of readers. Forty-four numbers had been published when Bute resigned; and, though almost every number had contained matter grossly libellous, no prosecution had been instituted. The forty-fifth number was innocent when compared with the majority of those which had preceded it, and indeed contained nothing so strong as may now be found daily in the leading articles of the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle*. But Grenville was now at the head of affairs. A new spirit had been infused into the administration. Authority was to be upheld. The government was no longer to be braved with impunity. Wilkes was arrested under a general warrant, conveyed to the Tower, and confined there with circumstances of unusual severity. His papers were seized, and carried to the Secretary of State. These harsh and illegal measures produced a violent outbreak of popular rage, which was soon changed to delight and exultation. The arrest was pronounced unlawful by the Court of Common Pleas, in which Chief-Justice Pratt presided, and the prisoner was discharged. This victory over the government was celebrated with enthusiasm both in London and in the Cider-counties.

While the ministers were daily becoming more odious to the nation, they were doing their best to make themselves also odious to the court. They gave the King plainly to understand that they were determined not to be Lord Bute's creatures, and exacted a promise that no secret adviser should have access to the royal ear. They soon found reason to suspect that this promise had not been observed. They remonstrated in terms less respectful than their master had been accustomed to hear, and gave him a fortnight to make his choice between his favourite and his cabinet.

George the Third was greatly disturbed. He had but a few weeks before exulted in his deliverance from the yoke of the great Whig connection. He had even declared that his honour would not permit him ever again to admit the members of that connection to his service. He now found that he had only exchanged one set of masters for another set still harsher and more imperious. In his distress he thought on Pitt. From Pitt it was possible that better terms might be obtained than either from Grenville, or from the party of which Newcastle was the head.

Grenville, on his return from an excursion into the country, repaired to Buckingham House. He was astonished to find at the entrance a chair, the shape of which was well known to him, and indeed to all London. It was distinguished by a large boot,

made for the purpose of accommodating the great Commoner's gouty leg. Grenville guessed the whole. His brother-in-law was closeted with the King. Bute, provoked by what he considered as the unfriendly and ungrateful conduct of his successors, had himself proposed that Pitt should be summoned to the palace.

Pitt had two audiences on two successive days. What passed at the first-interview led him to expect that the negotiation would be brought to a satisfactory close; but on the morrow he found the King less complying. The best account, indeed the only trustworthy account of the conference, is that which was taken from Pitt's own mouth by Lord Hardwicke. It appears that Pitt strongly represented the importance of conciliating those chiefs of the Whig party who had been so unhappy as to incur the royal displeasure. They had, he said, been the most constant friends of the house of Hanover. Their power and credit were great; they had been long versed in public business. If they were to be under sentence of exclusion, a solid administration could not be formed. His Majesty could not bear to think of putting himself into the hands of those whom he had recently chased from his court with the strongest marks of anger. 'I am sorry, Mr Pitt,' he said, 'but I see this will not do. My honour is concerned. I must support my honour.' How his Majesty succeeded in supporting his honour, we shall soon see.

Pitt retired, and the King was reduced to request the ministers whom he had been on the point of discarding, to remain in office. During the two years which followed, Grenville, now closely leagued with the Bedfords, was the master of the court; and a hard master he proved. He knew that he was kept in place only because there was no choice except between himself and the Whigs. That, under any circumstances, the Whigs would be forgiven, he thought impossible. The late attempt to get rid of him had roused his resentment; the failure of that attempt had liberated him from all fear. He had never been very courtly. He now began to hold a language, to which, since the days of Cornet Joyce and President Bradshaw, no English King had been compelled to listen.

In one matter, indeed, Grenville, at the expense of justice and liberty, gratified the passions of the court while gratifying his own. The persecution of Wilkes was eagerly pressed. He had written a parody on Pope's *Essay on Man*, entitled the *Essay on Woman*, and had appended to it notes, in ridicule of Warburton's famous *Commentary*.

This composition was exceedingly profligate, but not more so, we think, than some of Pope's own works—the imitation of the

second satire of the first book of Horace, for example; and, to do Wilkes justice, he had not, like Pope, given his ribaldry to the world. He had merely printed at a private press a very small number of copies, which he meant to present to some of his boon companions, whose morals were in no more danger of being corrupted by a loose book, than a negro of being tanned by a warm sun. A tool of the government, by giving a bribe to the printer, procured a copy of this trash, and placed it in the hands of the ministers. The ministers resolved to visit Wilkes's offence against decorum with the utmost rigour of the law. What share piety and respect for morals had in dictating this resolution, our readers may judge from the fact, that no person was more eager for bringing the libertine poet to punishment than Lord March, afterwards Duke of Queensberry. On the first day of the session of Parliament, the book, thus disgracefully obtained, was laid on the table of the Lords by the Earl of Sandwich, whom the Duke of Bedford's interest had made Secretary of State. The unfortunate author had not the slightest suspicion that his licentious poem had ever been seen, except by his printer and by a few of his dissipated companions, till it was produced in full Parliament. Though he was a man of easy temper, averse from danger, and not very susceptible of shame, the surprise, the disgrace, the prospect of utter ruin, put him beside himself. He picked a quarrel with one of Lord Bute's dependents, fought a duel, was seriously wounded, and, when half recovered, fled to France. His enemies had now their own way both in the Parliament and in the King's Bench. He was censured; expelled from the House of Commons; outlawed. His works were ordered to be burned by the common hangman. Yet was the multitude still true to him. In the minds even of many moral and religious men, his crime seemed light when compared with the crime of his accusers. The conduct of Sandwich, in particular, excited universal disgust. His own vices were notorious; and, only a fortnight before he laid the *Essay on Woman* before the House of Lords, he had been drinking and singing loose catches with Wilkes at one of the most dissolute clubs in London. Shortly after the meeting of Parliament, the *Beggar's Opera* was acted at Covent-Garden theatre. When Macheath uttered the words—'That Jemmy Twitcher should peach me I own surprised me,'—pit, boxes, and galleries, burst into a roar which seemed likely to bring the roof down. From that day Sandwich was universally known by the nickname of Jemmy Twitcher. The ceremony of burning the *North Briton* was interrupted by a riot. The constables were beaten; the paper was rescued; and, instead of it, a jack-boot and a petticoat were committed to the flames. Wilkes had

instituted an action for the seizure of his papers, against the under-secretary of state. The jury gave a thousand pounds damages. But neither these nor any other indications of public feeling had power to move Grenville. He had the Parliament with him: and, according to his political creed, the sense of the nation was to be collected from the Parliament alone.

Soon, however, he found reason to fear that even the Parliament might fail him. On the question of the legality of general warrants, the opposition, having on its side all sound principles, all constitutional authorities, and the voice of the whole nation, mustered in great force, and was joined by many who did not ordinarily vote against the government. On one occasion the ministry, in a very full House, had a majority of only fourteen votes. The storm, however, blew over. The spirit of the opposition, from whatever cause, began to flag at the moment when success seemed almost certain. The session ended without any change. Pitt, whose eloquence had shone with its usual lustre in all the principal debates, and whose popularity was greater than ever, was still a private man. Grenville, detested alike by the court and by the people, was still minister.

As soon as the Houses had risen, Grenville took a step which proved, even more signally than any of his past acts, how despotic, how acrimonious, and how fearless his nature was. Among the gentlemen not ordinarily opposed to the government, who, on the great constitutional question of general warrants, had voted with the minority, was Henry Conway, brother of the Earl of Hertford, a brave soldier, a tolerable speaker, and a well-meaning, though not a wise or vigorous politician. He was now deprived of his regiment, the merited reward of faithful and gallant service in two wars. It was confidently asserted that in this violent measure the King heartily concurred.

But whatever pleasure the persecution of Wilkes, or the dismissal of Conway, may have given to the royal mind, it is certain that his Majesty's aversion to his ministers increased day by day. Grenville was as frugal of the public money as of his own, and morosely refused to accede to the King's request, that a few thousand pounds might be expended in buying some open fields to the west of the gardens of Buckingham House. In consequence of this refusal, the fields were soon covered with buildings, and the King and Queen were overlooked in their most private walks by the upper windows of a hundred houses. Nor was this the worst. Grenville was as liberal of words as he was sparing of guineas. Instead of explaining himself in that clear, concise, and lively manner, which alone could win the attention of a young mind new to business, he spoke in the closet just as he spoke in

the House of Commons. When he had harangued two hours, he looked at his watch, as he had been in the habit of looking at the clock opposite the Speaker's chair, apologized for the length of his discourse, and then went on for an hour more. The members of the House of Commons can cough an orator down, or can walk away to dinner; and they were by no means sparing in the use of these privileges when Grenville was on his legs. But the poor young King had to endure all this eloquence with mournful civility. To the end of his life he continued to talk with horror of Grenville's orations.

About this time took place one of the most singular events in Pitt's life. There was a certain Sir William Pynsent, a Somersetshire baronet of Whig politics, who had been a Member of the House of Commons in the days of Queen Anne, and had retired to rural privacy when the Tory party, towards the end of her reign, obtained the ascendancy in her councils. His manners were eccentric. His morals lay under very odious imputations. But his fidelity to his political opinions was unalterable. During fifty years of seclusion he continued to brood over the events which had driven him from public life, the dismissal of the Whigs, the peace of Utrecht, the desertion of our allies. He now thought that he perceived a close analogy between the well-remembered events of his youth and the events which he had witnessed in extreme old age; between the disgrace of Marlborough and the disgrace of Pitt; between the elevation of Harley and the elevation of Bute; between the treaty negotiated by St John and the treaty negotiated by Bedford; between the wrongs of the house of Austria in 1712 and the wrongs of the house of Brandenburg in 1762. This fancy took such possession of the old man's mind that he determined to leave his whole property to Pitt. In this way Pitt unexpectedly came into possession of near three thousand pounds a-year. Nor could all the malice of his enemies find any ground for reproach in the transaction. Nobody could call him a legacy-hunter. Nobody could accuse him of seizing that to which others had a better claim. For he had never in his life seen Sir William; and Sir William had left no relation so near as to be entitled to form any expectations respecting the estate.

The fortunes of Pitt seemed to flourish; but his health was worse than ever. We cannot find that, during the session which began in January 1765, he once appeared in parliament. He remained some months in profound retirement at Hayes, his favourite villa, scarcely moving except from his arm-chair to his bed, and from his bed to his arm-chair, and often employing his wife as his amanuensis in his most confidential correspondence. Some of

his detractors whispered that his invisibility was to be ascribed quite as much to affectation as to gout. In truth his character, high and splendid as it was, wanted simplicity. With genius which did not need the aid of stage-tricks, and with a spirit which should have been far above them, he had yet been, through life, in the habit of practising them. It was, therefore, now surmised that, having acquired all the consideration which could be derived from eloquence and from great services to the state, he had determined not to make himself cheap by often appearing in public, but, under the pretext of ill health, to surround himself with mystery, to emerge only at long intervals and on momentous occasions, and at other times to deliver his oracles only to a few favoured votaries, who were suffered to make pilgrimages to his shrine. If such were his object, it was for a time fully attained. Never was the magic of his name so powerful, never was he regarded by his country with such superstitious veneration, as during this year of silence and seclusion.

While Pitt was thus absent from parliament, Grenville proposed a measure destined to produce a great revolution, the effects of which will long be felt by the whole human race. We speak of the act for imposing stamp-duties on the North American colonies. The plan was eminently characteristic of its author. Every feature of the parent was found in the child. A timid statesman would have shrunk from a step, of which Walpole, at a time when the colonies were far less powerful, had said—‘He who shall propose it, will be a much bolder man than I.’ But the nature of Grenville was insensible to fear. A statesman of large views would have felt, that to lay taxes at Westminster on New England and New York, was a course opposed, not indeed to the letter of the statute-book, or to any decision contained in the Term Reports, but to the principles of good government, and to the spirit of the constitution. A statesman of large views would also have felt, that ten times the estimated produce of the American stamps would have been dearly purchased by even a transient quarrel between the mother country and the colonies. But Grenville knew of no spirit of the constitution distinct from the letter of the law, and of no national interests except those which are expressed by pounds, shillings, and pence. That his policy might give birth to deep discontents in all the provinces, from the shore of the Great Lakes to the Mexican sea; that France and Spain might seize the opportunity of revenge; that the Empire might be dismembered; that the debt—that debt with the amount of which he perpetually reproached Pitt—might, in consequence of his own policy, be doubled; these were possibilities which never occurred to that small, sharp mind.

The Stamp Act will be remembered as long as the globe lasts. But, at the time, it attracted much less notice in this country than another act which is now almost utterly forgotten. The King fell ill, and was thought to be in a dangerous state. His complaint, we believe, was the same which, at a later period, repeatedly incapacitated him for the performance of his regal functions. The heir-apparent was only two years old. It was clearly proper to make provision for the administration of the government, in case of a minority. The discussions on this point brought the quarrel between the court and the ministry to a crisis. The King wished to be entrusted with the power of naming a regent by will. The ministers feared, or affected to fear, that, if this power were conceded to him, he would name the Princess Mother, nay, possibly the Earl of Bute. They, therefore, insisted on introducing into the bill words confining the King's choice to the royal family. Having thus excluded Bute, they urged the King to let them, in the most marked manner, exclude the Princess-Dowager also. They assured him that the House of Commons would undoubtedly strike her name out, and by this threat they wrung from him a reluctant assent. In a few days, it appeared that the representations by which they had induced the King to put this gross and public affront on his mother were unfounded. The friends of the Princess in the House of Commons moved that her name should be inserted. The ministers could not decently attack the parent of their master. They hoped that the opposition would come to their help, and put on them a force to which they would gladly have yielded. But the majority of the opposition, though hating the Princess, hated Grenville more, beheld his embarrassment with delight, and would do nothing to extricate him from it. The Princess's name was accordingly placed in the list of persons qualified to hold the regency.

The King's resentment was now at the height. The present evil seemed to him more intolerable than any other. Even the junta of Whig grandees could not treat him worse than he had been treated by his present ministers. In his distress he poured out his whole heart to his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland. The duke was not a man to be loved; but he was eminently a man to be trusted. He had an intrepid temper, a strong understanding, and a high sense of honour and duty. As a general, he belonged to a remarkable class of captains—captains, we mean, whose fate it has been to lose almost all the battles which they have fought, and yet to be reputed stout and skilful soldiers. Such captains were Coligni and William the Third. We might, perhaps, add Marshal Soult to the list. The bravery of the Duke

of Cumberland was such as distinguished him even among the princes of his brave house. The indifference with which he rode about amidst musket-balls and cannon-balls was not the highest proof of his fortitude. Hopeless maladies, horrible surgical operations, far from unmanning him, did not even discompose him. With courage, he had the virtues which are akin to courage. He spoke the truth, was open in enmity and friendship, and upright in all his dealings. But his nature was hard; and what seemed to him justice was rarely tempered with mercy. He was, therefore, during many years one of the most unpopular men in England. The severity with which he had treated the rebels after the battle of Culloden, had gained for him the name of the butcher. His attempts to introduce into the army of England, then in a most relaxed state, the rigorous discipline of Potsdam, had excited still stronger disgust. Nothing was too bad to be believed of him. Many honest people were so absurd as to fancy that, if he were left regent during the minority of his nephews, there would be another smothering in the Tower. These feelings, however, had passed away. The Duke had been living, during some years, in retirement. The English, full of animosity against the Scots, now blamed his royal highness only for having left so many Camerons and Macphersons to be made gaugers and custom-house officers. He was, therefore, at present a favourite with his countrymen, and especially with the inhabitants of London.

He had little reason to love the King, and had shown clearly, though not obtrusively, his dislike of the system which had lately been pursued. But he had high and almost romantic notions of the duty which, as a prince of the blood, he owed to the head of his house. He determined to extricate his nephew from bondage, and to effect a reconciliation between the Whig party and the throne, on terms honourable to both.

In this mind he set off for Hayes, and was admitted to Pitt's sick-room. For Pitt would not leave his chamber, and would not communicate with any messenger of inferior dignity. And now began a long series of errors on the part of the illustrious statesman, errors which involved his country in difficulties and distresses more serious even than those from which his genius had formerly rescued her. His language was haughty, unreasonable, almost unintelligible. The only thing which could be discerned through a cloud of vague and not very gracious phrases was, that he would not at that moment take office. The truth, we believe, was this. Lord Temple, who was Pitt's evil genius, had just formed a new scheme of politics. Hatred of Bute and of the Princess had, it should seem, taken entire possession of

Temple's soul. He had quarrelled with his brother George, because George had been connected with Bute and the Princess. Now that George appeared to be the enemy of Bute and the princess, Temple was eager to bring about a general family reconciliation. The three brothers, as Temple, Grenville, and Pitt, were popularly called, might make a ministry, without leaning for aid either on Bute or on the Whig connection. With such views, Temple used all his influence to dissuade Pitt from acceding to the propositions of the Duke of Cumberland. Pitt was not convinced. But Temple had an influence over him such as no other person had ever possessed. They were very old friends, very near relations. If Pitt's talents and fame had been useful to Temple, Temple's purse had formerly, in times of great need, been useful to Pitt. They had never been parted in politics. Twice they had come into the cabinet together; twice they had left it together. Pitt could not bear to think of taking office without his chief ally. Yet he felt that he was doing wrong, that he was throwing away a great opportunity of serving his country. The obscure and unconciliatory style of the answers which he returned to the overtures of the Duke of Cumberland, may be ascribed to the embarrassment and vexation of a mind not at peace with itself. It is said that he mournfully exclaimed to Temple,

‘Extinxi te meque, soror, populumque, patresque
Sidonios, urbemque tuam.’

The prediction was but too just.

Finding Pitt impracticable, the Duke of Cumberland advised the King to submit to necessity, and to keep Grenville and the Bedfords. It was, indeed, not a time at which offices could safely be left vacant. The unsettled state of the government had produced a general relaxation through all the departments of the public service. Meetings, which at another time would have been harmless, now turned to riots, and rapidly rose almost to the dignity of rebellions. The Houses of Parliament were blockaded by the Spitalfields weavers. Bedford House was assailed on all sides by a furious rabble, and was strongly garrisoned with horse and foot. Some people attributed these disturbances to the friends of Bute, and some to the friends of Wilkes. But, whatever might be the cause, the effect was general insecurity. Under such circumstances the King had no choice. With bitter feelings of mortification, he informed the ministers that he meant to retain them.

They answered by demanding from him a promise on his royal word never more to consult Lord Bute. The promise was given.

They then demanded something more. Lord Bute's brother, Mr Mackenzie, held a lucrative office in Scotland. Mr Mackenzie must be dismissed. The King replied that the office had been given under very peculiar circumstances, and that he had promised never to take it away while he lived. Grenville was obstinate, and the King, with a very bad grace, yielded.

The session of Parliament was over. The triumph of the ministers was complete. The King was almost as much a prisoner as Charles the First had been, when in the Isle of Wight. Such were the fruits of the policy which, only a few months before, was represented as having for ever secured the throne against the dictation of insolent subjects.

His Majesty's natural resentment showed itself in every look and word. In his extremity, he looked wistfully towards that Whig connection, once the object of his dread and hatred. The Duke of Devonshire, who had been treated with such unjustifiable harshness, had lately died, and had been succeeded by his son, who was still a boy. The King condescended to express his regret for what had passed, and to invite the young Duke to court. The noble youth came, attended by his uncles, and was received with marked graciousness.

This and many other symptoms of the same kind irritated the ministers. They had still in store for their sovereign an insult which would have provoked his grandfather to kick them out of the room. Grenville and Bedford demanded an audience of him, and read him a remonstrance of many pages, which they had drawn up with great care. His Majesty was accused of breaking his word, and of treating his advisers with gross unfairness. The Princess was mentioned in language by no means eulogistic. Hints were thrown out that Bute's head was in danger. The King was plainly told that he must not continue to show, as he had done, that he disliked the situation in which he was placed; that he must frown upon the opposition, that he must carry it fair towards his ministers in public. He several times interrupted the reading, by declaring that he had ceased to hold any communication with Bute. But the ministers, disregarding his denial, went on; and the King listened in silence, almost choked by rage. When they ceased to read, he merely made a gesture expressive of his wish to be left alone. He afterwards owned that he thought he should have gone into a fit.

Driven to despair, he again had recourse to the Duke of Cumberland; and the Duke of Cumberland again had recourse to Pitt. Pitt was really desirous to undertake the direction of affairs, and owned, with many dutiful expressions, that the terms offered by the King were all that any subject could desire. But

Temple was impracticable; and Pitt, with great regret, declared that he could not, without the concurrence of his brother-in-law, undertake the administration.

The Duke now saw only one way of delivering his nephew. An administration must be formed of the Whigs in opposition, without Pitt's help. The difficulties seemed almost insuperable. Death and desertion had grievously thinned the ranks of the party lately supreme in the state. Those among whom the Duke's choice lay might be divided into two classes, men too old for important offices, and men who had never been in any important office before. The cabinet must be composed of broken invalids or of raw recruits.

This was an evil, yet not an unmixed evil. If the new Whig statesmen had little experience in business and debate, they were, on the other hand, pure from the taint of that political immorality which had deeply infected their predecessors. Long prosperity had corrupted that great party which had expelled the Stuarts, limited the prerogatives of the Crown, and curbed the intolerance of the Hierarchy. Adversity had already produced a salutary effect. On the day of the accession of George the Third, the ascendancy of the Whig party terminated; and on that day the purification of the Whig party began. The rising chiefs of that party were men of a very different sort from Sandys and Winnington, from Sir William Younge and Henry Fox. They were men worthy to have charged by the side of Hampden at Chalgrove, or to have exchanged the last embrace with Russell on the scaffold in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. They carried into politics the same high principles of virtue which regulated their private dealings, nor would they stoop to promote even the noblest and most salutary ends by means which honour and probity condemn. Such men were Lord John Cavendish, Sir George Savile, and others whom we hold in honour as the second founders of the Whig party, as the restorers of its pristine health and energy after half a century of degeneracy.

The chief of this respectable band was the Marquis of Rockingham, a man of splendid fortune, excellent sense, and stainless character. He was indeed nervous to such a degree, that, to the very close of his life, he never rose without great reluctance and embarrassment to address the House of Lords. But, though not a great orator, he had in a high degree some of the qualities of a statesman. He chose his friends well; and he had, in an extraordinary degree, the art of attaching them to him by ties of the most honourable kind. The cheerful fidelity with which they adhered to him through many years of almost hopeless opposi-

tion, was less admirable than the disinterestedness and delicacy which they showed when he rose to power.

We are inclined to think that the use and the abuse of party cannot be better illustrated than by a parallel between two powerful connections of that time, the Rockinghams and the Bedfords. The Rockingham party was, in our view, exactly what a party should be. It consisted of men bound together by common opinions, by common public objects, by mutual esteem. That they desired to obtain, by honest and constitutional means, the direction of affairs, they openly avowed. But, though often invited to accept the honours and emoluments of office, they steadily refused to do so on any conditions inconsistent with their principles. The Bedford party, as a party, had, as far as we can discover, no principle whatever. Rigby and Sandwich wanted public money, and thought that they should fetch a higher price jointly than singly. They therefore acted in concert, and prevailed on a much more important and a much better man than themselves to act with them.

It was to Rockingham that the Duke of Cumberland now had recourse. The Marquis consented to take the treasury. Newcastle, so long the recognised chief of the Whigs, could not well be excluded from the ministry. He was appointed keeper of the privy seal. A very honest clear-headed country gentleman, of the name of Dowdeswell, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. General Conway, who had served under the Duke of Cumberland, and was strongly attached to his royal highness, was made Secretary of State, with the lead in the House of Commons. A great Whig nobleman, in the prime of manhood, from whom much was at that time expected, Augustus Duke of Grafton, was the other Secretary.

The oldest man living could remember no government so weak in oratorical talents and in official experience. The general opinion was, that the ministers might hold office during the recess, but that the first day of debate in Parliament would be the last day of their power. Charles Townshend was asked what he thought of the new administration. 'It is,' said he, mere lute-string: pretty summer wear. It will never do for the winter.'

At this conjuncture Lord Rockingham had the wisdom to discern the value, and secure the aid, of an ally, who, to eloquence surpassing the eloquence of Pitt, and to industry which shamed the industry of Grenville, united an amplitude of comprehension to which neither Pitt nor Grenville could lay claim. A young Irishman had, some time before, come over to push his fortune in London. He had written much for the booksellers;

but he was best known by a little treatise, in which the style and reasoning of Bolingbroke were mimicked with exquisite skill, and by a theory, of more ingenuity than soundness, touching the pleasures which we receive from the objects of taste. He had also attained a high reputation as a talker, and was regarded by the men of letters who supped together at the Turk's Head as the only match in conversation for Dr Johnson. He now became private secretary to Lord Rockingham, and was brought into Parliament by his patron's influence. These arrangements, indeed, were not made without some difficulty. The Duke of Newcastle, who was always meddling and chattering, adjured the first lord of the treasury to be on his guard against this adventurer, whose real name was O' Bourke, and whom his Grace knew to be a wild Irishman, a Jacobite, a Papist, a concealed Jesuit. Lord Rockingham treated the calumny as it deserved; and the Whig party was strengthened and adorned by the accession of Edmund Burke.

The party, indeed, stood in need of accessions; for it sustained about this time an almost irreparable loss. The Duke of Cumberland had formed the government, and was its main support. His exalted rank and great name in some degree balanced the fame of Pitt. As mediator between the Whigs and the court, he held a place which no other person could fill. The strength of his character supplied that which was the chief defect of the new ministry. Conway, in particular, who, with excellent intentions and respectable talents, was the most dependent and irresolute of human beings, drew from the counsels of that masculine mind a determination not his own. Before the meeting of Parliament the Duke suddenly died. His death was generally regarded as the signal of great troubles, and on this account, as well as from respect for his personal qualities, was greatly lamented. It was remarked that the mourning in London was the most general ever known, and was both deeper and longer than the Gazette had prescribed.

In the mean time, every mail from America brought alarming tidings. The crop which Grenville had sown, his successors had now to reap. The colonies were in a state bordering on rebellion. The stamps were burned. The revenue officers were tarred and feathered. All traffic between the discontented provinces and the mother country was interrupted. The Exchange of London was in dismay. Half the firms of Bristol and Liverpool were threatened with bankruptcy. In Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham, it was said that three artisans out of every ten had been turned adrift. Civil war seemed to be at hand; and it could not be doubted, that, if once the British nation were

divided against itself, France and Spain would soon take part in the quarrel.

Three courses were open to the ministers. The first was to enforce the Stamp Act by the sword. This was the course on which the King, and Grenville, whom the King hated beyond all living men, were alike bent. The natures of both were arbitrary and stubborn. They resembled each other so much that they could never be friends; but they resembled each other also so much, that they saw almost all important practical questions in the same point of view. Neither of them would bear to be governed by the other; but they perfectly agreed as to the best way of governing the people.

Another course was that which Pitt recommended. He held that the British Parliament was not constitutionally competent to pass a law for taxing the colonies. He therefore considered the Stamp Act as a nullity, as a document of no more validity than Charles's writ of ship-money, or James's proclamation dispensing with the penal laws. This doctrine seems to us, we must own, to be altogether untenable.

Between these extreme courses lay a third way. The opinion of the most judicious and temperate statesmen of those times was, that the British constitution had set no limit whatever to the legislative power of the British King, Lords, and Commons, over the whole British Empire. Parliament, they held, was legally competent to tax America, as Parliament was legally competent to commit any other act of folly or wickedness, to confiscate the property of all the merchants in Lombard Street, or to attain any man in the kingdom of high treason, without examining witnesses against him, or hearing him in his own defence. The most atrocious act of confiscation or of attainder is just as valid an act as the Toleration Act or the Habeas Corpus Act. But from acts of confiscation and acts of attainder, lawgivers are bound, by every obligation of morality, systematically to refrain. In the same manner ought the British legislature to refrain from taxing the American colonies. The Stamp Act was indefensible, not because it was beyond the constitutional competence of Parliament, but because it was unjust and impolitic, sterile of revenue, and fertile of discontents. These sound doctrines were adopted by Lord Rockingham and his colleagues, and were, during a long course of years, inculcated by Burke, in orations, some of which will last as long as the English language.

The winter came; the Parliament met; and the state of the colonies instantly became the subject of fierce contention. Pitt, whose health had been somewhat restored by the waters of

Bath, reappeared in the House of Commons, and, with ardent and pathetic eloquence, not only condemned the Stamp Act, but applauded the resistance of Massachusetts and Virginia; and vehemently maintained, in defiance, we must say, of all reason and of all authority, that, according to the British constitution, the supreme legislative power does not include the power to tax. The language of Grenville, on the other hand, was such as Strafford might have used at the council-table of Charles the First, when news came of the resistance to the liturgy at Edinburgh. The colonists were traitors; those who excused them were little better. Frigates, mortars, bayonets, sabres, were the proper remedies for such distempers.

The ministers occupied an intermediate position; they proposed to declare that the legislative authority of the British Parliament over the whole Empire was in all cases supreme; and they proposed, at the same time, to repeal the Stamp Act. To the former measure Pitt objected; but it was carried with scarcely a dissentient voice. The repeal of the Stamp Act Pitt strongly supported; but against the government was arrayed a formidable assemblage of opponents. Grenville and the Bedfords were furious. Temple, who had now allied himself closely with his brother, and separated himself from Pitt, was no despicable enemy. This, however, was not the worst. The ministry was without its natural strength. It had to struggle, not only against its avowed enemies, but against the insidious hostility of the King, and of a set of persons who, about this time, began to be designated as the King's friends.

The character of this faction has been drawn by Burke with even more than his usual force and vivacity. Those who know how strongly, through his whole life, his judgment was biassed by his passions, may not unnaturally suspect that he has left us rather a caricature than a likeness; and yet there is scarcely, in the whole portrait, a single touch of which the fidelity is not proved by facts of unquestionable authenticity.

The public generally regarded the King's friends as a body of which Bute was the directing soul. It was to no purpose that the Earl professed to have done with politics, that he absented himself year after year from the levee and the drawing-room, that he went to the north, that he went to Rome. The notion, that, in some inexplicable manner, he dictated all the measures of the court, was fixed in the minds, not only of the multitude, but of some who had good opportunities of obtaining information, and who ought to have been superior to vulgar prejudices. Our own belief is that these suspicions were unfounded, and that he ceased to have any communication with the King on

political matters some time before the dismissal of George Grenville. The supposition of Bute's influence is, indeed, by no means necessary to explain the phenomena. The King, in 1765, was no longer the ignorant and inexperienced boy who had, in 1760, been managed by his mother and his groom of the stole. He had, during several years, observed the struggles of parties, and conferred daily on high questions of state with able and experienced politicians. His way of life had developed his understanding and character. He was now no longer a puppet, but had very decided opinions both of men and things. Nothing could be more natural than that he should have high notions of his own prerogatives, should be impatient of opposition, and should wish all public men to be detached from each other and dependent on himself alone; nor could any thing be more natural than that, in the state in which the political world then was, he should find instruments fit for his purposes.

Thus sprang into existence and into note a reptile species of politicians never before and never since known in our country. These men disclaimed all political ties, except those which bound them to the throne. They were willing to coalesce with any party, to abandon any party, to undermine any party, to assault any party, at a moment's notice. To them, all administrations and all oppositions were the same. They regarded Bute, Grenville, Rockingham, Pitt, without one sentiment either of predilection or of aversion. They were the King's friends. It is to be observed that this friendship implied no personal intimacy. These people had never lived with their master, as Dodington at one time lived with his father, or as Sheridan afterwards lived with his son. They never hunted with him in the morning, or played cards with him in the evening; never shared his mutton or walked with him among his turnips. Only one or two of them ever saw his face, except on public days. The whole band, however, always had early and accurate information as to his personal inclinations. None of these people were high in the administration. They were generally to be found in places of much emolument, little labour, and no responsibility; and these places they continued to occupy securely while the cabinet was six or seven times reconstructed. Their peculiar business was not to support the ministry against the opposition, but to support the King against the ministry. Whenever his Majesty was induced to give a reluctant assent to the introduction of some bill which his constitutional advisers regarded as necessary, his friends in the House of Commons were sure to speak against it, to vote against it, to throw in its way every obstruction compatible with the forms of Parliament. If his Majesty found it

necessary to admit into his closet a Secretary of State or a First Lord of the Treasury whom he disliked, his friends were sure to miss no opportunity of thwarting and humbling the obnoxious minister. In return for these services, the King covered them with his protection. It was to no purpose that his responsible servants complained to him that they were daily betrayed and impeded by men who were eating the bread of the government. He sometimes justified the offenders, sometimes excused them, sometimes owned that they were to blame, but said that he must take time to consider whether he could part with them. He never would turn them out; and, while every thing else in the state was constantly changing, these sycophants seemed to have a life-estate in their offices.

It was well known to the King's friends, that though his Majesty had consented to the repeal of the Stamp Act, he had consented with a very bad grace, and that though he had eagerly welcomed the Whigs, when, in his extreme need and at his earnest entreaty, they had undertaken to free him from an insupportable yoke, he had by no means got over his early prejudices against his deliverers. The ministers soon found that, while they were encountered in front by the whole force of a strong opposition, their rear was assailed by a large body of those whom they had regarded as auxiliaries.

Nevertheless, Lord Rockingham and his adherents went on resolutely with the bill for repealing the Stamp Act. They had on their side all the manufacturing and commercial interests of the realm. In the debates the government was powerfully supported. Two great orators and statesmen, belonging to two different generations, repeatedly put forth all their powers in defence of the bill. The House of Commons heard Pitt for the last time, and Burke for the first time, and was in doubt to which of them the palm of eloquence should be assigned. It was indeed a splendid sunset and a splendid dawn.

For a time the event seemed doubtful. In several divisions the ministers were hard pressed. On one occasion, not less than twelve of the King's friends, all men in office, voted against the government. It was to no purpose that Lord Rockingham remonstrated with the King. His Majesty confessed that there was ground for complaint, but hoped that gentle means would bring the mutineers to a better mind. If they persisted in their misconduct, he would dismiss them.

At length the decisive day arrived. The gallery, the lobby, the Court of Requests, the staircases, were crowded with merchants from all the great ports of the island. The debate lasted till long after midnight. On the division, the ministers had a

great majority. The dread of civil war, and the outcry of all the trading towns of the kingdom, had been too strong for the combined strength of the court and the opposition.

It was in the first dim twilight of a February morning that the doors were thrown open, and that the chiefs of the hostile parties showed themselves to the multitude. Conway was received with loud applause. But when Pitt appeared, all eyes were fixed on him alone. All hats were in the air. Loud and long huzzas accompanied him to his chair, and a train of admirers escorted him all the way to his home. Then came forth Grenville. As soon as he was recognised, a storm of hisses and curses broke forth. He turned fiercely on the crowd, and caught one man by the throat. The bystanders were in great alarm. If a scuffle began, none could say how it might end. Fortunately the person who had been collared only said, 'If I may not hiss, sir, I hope I may laugh,' and laughed in Grenville's face.

The majority had been so decisive, that all the opponents of the ministry, save one, were disposed to let the bill pass without any further contention. But solicitation and expostulation were thrown away on Grenville. His indomitable spirit rose up stronger and stronger under the load of public hatred. He fought out the battle obstinately to the end. On the last reading he had a sharp altercation with his brother-in-law, the last of their many sharp altercations. Pitt thundered in his loftiest tones against the man who had wished to dip the ermine of a British King in the blood of the British people. Grenville replied with his wonted intrepidity and asperity. 'If the tax,' he said, 'were still to be laid on, I would lay it on. For the evils which it may produce my accuser is answerable. His profusion made it necessary. His declarations against the constitutional powers of King, Lords, and Commons, have made it doubly necessary. I do not envy him the huzza. I glory in the hiss. If it were to be done again, I would do it.'

The repeal of the Stamp Act was the chief measure of Lord Rockingham's government. But that government is entitled to the praise of having put a stop to two oppressive practices, which, in Wilkes's case, had attracted the notice and excited the just indignation of the public. The House of Commons was induced by the ministers to pass a resolution, condemning the use of general warrants, and another resolution, condemning the seizure of papers in cases of libel.

It must be added, to the lasting honour of Lord Rockingham, that his administration was the first which, during a long course of years, had the courage and the virtue to refrain from bribing members of Parliament. His enemies accused him and his

friends of weakness, of haughtiness, of party spirit ; but calumny itself never dared to couple his name with corruption.

Unhappily his government, though one of the best that has ever existed in our country, was also one of the weakest. The King's friends assailed and obstructed the ministers at every turn. To appeal to the King was only to draw forth new promises and new evasions. His Majesty was sure that there must be some misunderstanding. Lord Rockingham had better speak to the gentlemen. They should be dismissed on the next fault. The next fault was soon committed, and his Majesty still continued to shuffle. It was too bad. It was quite abominable ; but it mattered less as the prorogation was at hand. He would give the delinquents one more chance. If they did not alter their conduct next session, he should not have one word to say for them. He had already resolved that, long before the commencement of the next session, Lord Rockingham should cease to be minister.

We have now come to a part of our story which, admiring as we do the genius and the many noble qualities of Pitt, we cannot relate without much pain. We believe that, at this conjuncture, he had it in his power to give the victory either to the Whigs or to the King's friends. If he had allied himself closely with Lord Rockingham, what could the court have done? There would have been only one alternative, the Whigs or Grenville ; and there could be no doubt what the King's choice would be. He still remembered, as well he might, with the utmost bitterness, the thralldom from which his uncle had freed him, and said about this time, with great vehemence, that he would sooner see the devil come into his closet than Grenville.

And what was there to prevent Pitt from allying himself with Lord Rockingham ? On all the most important questions their views were the same. They had agreed in condemning the peace, the Stamp Act, the general warrants, the seizure of papers. The points in which they differed were few and unimportant. In integrity, in disinterestedness, in hatred of corruption, they resembled each other. Their personal interests could not clash. They sat in different Houses, and Pitt had always declared that nothing should induce him to be first lord of the treasury.

If the opportunity of forming a coalition beneficial to the state, and honourable to all concerned, was suffered to escape, the fault was not with the Whig ministers. They behaved towards Pitt with an obsequiousness which, had it not been the effect of sincere admiration and of anxiety for the public interests, might have been justly called servile. They repeatedly gave him to understand that, if he chose to join their ranks, they were

ready to receive him, not as an associate, but as a leader. They had proved their respect for him by bestowing a peerage on the person who, at that time, enjoyed the largest share of his confidence, Chief-Justice Pratt. What then was there to divide Pitt from the Whigs? What, on the other hand, was there in common between him and the King's friends, that he should lend himself to their purposes—he who had never owed any thing to flattery or intrigue, he whose eloquence and independent spirit had overawed two generations of slaves and jobbers, he who had twice been forced by the enthusiasm of an admiring nation on a reluctant Prince?

Unhappily the court had gained Pitt, not, it is true, by those ignoble means which were employed when such men as Rigby and Wedderburn were to be won, but by allurements suited to a nature noble even in its aberrations. The King set himself to seduce the one man who could turn the Whigs out without letting Grenville in. Praise, caresses, promises, were lavished on the idol of the nation. He, and he alone, could put an end to faction, could bid defiance to all the powerful connections in the land united, Whigs and Tories, Rockinghams, Bedfords, and Grenvilles. These blandishments produced a great effect. For though Pitt's spirit was high and manly, though his eloquence was often exerted with formidable effect against the court, and though his theory of government had been learned in the school of Locke and Sidney, he had always regarded the person of the sovereign with profound veneration. As soon as he was brought face to face with royalty, his imagination and sensibility became too strong for his principles. His Whiggism thawed and disappeared; and he became, for the time, a Tory of the old Ormond pattern. Nor was he by any means unwilling to assist in the work of dissolving all political connections. His own weight in the state was wholly independent of such connections. He was therefore inclined to look on them with dislike, and made far too little distinction between gangs of knaves associated for the mere purpose of robbing the public, and confederacies of honourable men for the promotion of great public objects. Nor had he the sagacity to perceive that the strenuous efforts which he made to annihilate all parties tended only to establish the ascendancy of one party, and that the basest and most hateful of all.

It may be doubted whether he would have been thus misled, if his mind had been in full health and vigour. But the truth is, that he had for some time been in an unnatural state of excitement. No suspicion of this sort had yet got abroad. His eloquence had never shone with more splendour than during the recent debates. But people afterwards called to mind many

things which ought to have roused their apprehensions. His habits were gradually becoming more and more eccentric. A horror of all loud sounds, such as is said to have been one of the many oddities of Wallenstein, grew upon him. Though the most affectionate of fathers, he could not at this time bear to hear the voices of his own children, and laid out great sums at Hayes in buying up houses contiguous to his own, merely that he might have no neighbours to disturb him with their noise. He then sold Hayes, and took possession of a villa at Hampstead, where he again began to purchase houses to right and left. In expense, indeed, he vied, during this part of his life, with the wealthiest of the conquerors of Bengal and Tanjore. At Burton Pynsent, he ordered a great extent of ground to be planted with cedars. Cedars enough for the purpose were not to be found in Somersetshire. They were therefore collected in London, and sent down by land carriage. Relays of labourers were hired; and the work went on all night by torchlight. No man could be more abstemious than Pitt; yet the profusion of his kitchen was a wonder even to epicures. Several dinners were always dressing; for his appetite was capricious and fanciful; and at whatever moment he felt inclined to eat, he expected a meal to be instantly on the table. Other circumstances might be mentioned, such as separately are of little moment, but such as, when taken together, and when viewed in connection with the strange events which followed, justify us in believing that his mind was already in a morbid state.

Soon after the close of the session of Parliament, Lord Rockingham received his dismissal. He retired, accompanied by a firm body of friends, whose consistency and uprightness enmity itself was forced to admit. None of them had asked or obtained any pension or any sinecure, either in possession or in reversion. Such disinterestedness was then rare among politicians. Their chief, though not a man of brilliant talents, had won for himself an honourable fame, which he kept pure to the last. He had, in spite of difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable, removed great abuses and averted a civil war. Sixteen years later, in a dark and terrible day, he was again called upon to save the state, brought to the very brink of ruin by the same perfidy and obstinacy which had embarrassed, and at length overthrown, his first administration.

Pitt was planting in Somersetshire when he was summoned to court by a letter written with the royal hand. He instantly hastened to London. The irritability of his mind and body were increased by the rapidity with which he travelled; and when he reached his journey's end he was suffering from fever. Ill as he

was, he saw the King at Richmond, and undertook to form an administration.

Pitt was scarcely in the state in which a man should be who has to conduct delicate and arduous negotiations. In his letters to his wife, he complained that the conferences in which it was necessary for him to bear a part heated his blood and accelerated his pulse. From other sources of information we learn, that his language, even to those whose co-operation he wished to engage, was strangely peremptory and despotic. Some of his notes written at this time have been preserved, and are in a style which Louis the Fourteenth would have been too well bred to employ in addressing any French gentleman.

In the attempt to dissolve all parties, Pitt met with some difficulties. Some Whigs, whom the court would gladly have detached from Lord Rockingham, rejected all offers. The Bedfords were perfectly willing to break with Grenville; but Pitt would not come up to their terms. Temple, whom Pitt at first meant to place at the head of the treasury, proved intractable. A coldness indeed had, during some months, been fast growing between the brothers-in-law, so long and so closely allied in politics. Pitt was angry with Temple for opposing the repeal of the Stamp Act. Temple was angry with Pitt for refusing to accede to that family league which was now the favourite plan at Stowe. At length the Earl proposed an equal partition of power and patronage, and offered, on this condition, to give up his brother George. Pitt thought the demand exorbitant, and positively refused compliance. A bitter quarrel followed. Each of the kinsmen was true to his character. Temple's soul festered with spite, and Pitt's swelled into contempt. Temple represented Pitt as the most odious of hypocrites and traitors. Pitt held a different, and perhaps a more provoking tone. Temple was a good sort of man enough, whose single title to distinction was, that he had a large garden, with a large piece of water, and a great many pavilions and summer-houses. To his fortunate connection with a great orator and statesman he was indebted for an importance in the state which his own talents could never have gained for him. That importance had turned his head. He had begun to fancy that he could form administrations, and govern Empires. It was piteous to see a well-meaning man under such a delusion.

In spite of all these difficulties, a ministry was made such as the King wished to see, a Ministry in which all his Majesty's friends were comfortably accommodated, and which, with the exception of his Majesty's friends, contained no four persons who had ever in their lives been in the habit of acting together. Men who had never concurred in a single vote found them-

selves seated at the same board. The office of paymaster was divided between two persons who had never exchanged a word. Most of the chief posts were filled either by personal adherents of Pitt, or by members of the late ministry, who had been induced to remain in place after the dismissal of Lord Rockingham. To the former class belonged Pratt, now Lord Camden, who accepted the great seal, and Lord Shelburne, who was made one of the Secretaries of State. To the latter class belonged the Duke of Grafton, who became First Lord of the Treasury, and Conway, who kept his old position both in the government and in the House of Commons. Charles Townshend, who had belonged to every party, and cared for none, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt himself was declared prime minister, but refused to take any laborious office. He was created Earl of Chatham, and the privy seal was delivered to him.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that the failure, the complete and disgraceful failure, of this arrangement, is not to be ascribed to any want of talents in the persons whom we have named. None of them were deficient in abilities; and four of them, Pitt himself, Shelburne, Camden, and Townshend, were men of high intellectual eminence. The fault was not in the materials, but in the principle on which the materials were put together. Pitt had mixed up these conflicting elements, in the full confidence that he should be able to keep them all in perfect subordination to himself, and in perfect harmony with each other. We shall soon see how the experiment succeeded.

On the very day on which the new prime minister kissed hands, three-fourths of that popularity which he had long enjoyed without a rival, and to which he owed the greater part of his authority, departed from him. A violent outcry was raised, not against that part of his conduct which really deserved severe condemnation, but against a step in which we can see nothing to censure. His acceptance of a peerage produced a general burst of indignation. Yet surely no peerage had ever been better earned; nor was there ever a statesman who more needed the repose of the Upper House. Pitt was now growing old. He was much older in constitution than in years. It was with imminent risk to his life that he had, on some important occasions, attended his duty in Parliament. During the session of 1764, he had not been able to take part in a single debate. It was impossible that he should go through the nightly labour of conducting the business of the government in the House of Commons. His wish to be transferred, under such circumstances, to a less busy and a less turbulent assembly, was natural and reasonable. The nation, however, overlooked all these considerations. Those who had most loved and honoured the great Commoner, were

loudest in invective against the new-made lord. London had hitherto been true to him through every vicissitude. When the citizens learned that he had been sent for from Somersetshire, that he had been closeted with the King at Richmond, and that he was to be first minister, they had been in transports of joy. Preparations were made for a grand entertainment, and for a general illumination. The lamps had actually been placed round the Monument, when the Gazette announced that the object of all their enthusiasm was an Earl. Instantly the feast was countermanded. The lamps were taken down. The newspapers raised the roar of obloquy. Pamphlets, made up of calumny and scurrility, filled the shops of all the booksellers; and of those pamphlets, the most galling were written under the direction of the malignant Temple. It was now the fashion to compare the two Williams, William Pulteney and William Pitt. Both, it was said, had, by eloquence and simulated patriotism, acquired a great ascendancy in the House of Commons and in the country. Both had been entrusted with the office of reforming the government. Both had, when at the height of power and popularity, been seduced by the splendour of the coronet. Both had been made earls, and both had in a moment become objects of aversion and scorn to the nation, which a few hours before had regarded them with affection and veneration.

The clamour against Pitt appears to have had a serious effect on the foreign relations of the country. His name had till now acted like a spell at Versailles and Saint Ildefonso. English travellers on the Continent had remarked, that nothing more was necessary to silence a whole room-full of boasting Frenchmen, than to drop a hint of the probability that Mr Pitt would return to power. In an instant there was deep silence: all shoulders rose, and all faces were lengthened. Now, unhappily, every foreign court, in learning that he was recalled to office, learned also that he no longer possessed the hearts of his countrymen. Ceasing to be loved at home, he ceased to be feared abroad. The name of Pitt had been a charmed name. Our envoys tried in vain to conjure with the name of Chatham.

The difficulties which beset Chatham were daily increased by the despotic manner in which he treated all around him. Lord Rockingham had, at the time of the change of ministry, acted with great moderation, had expressed a hope that the new government would act on the principles of the late government, and had even interfered to prevent many of his friends from quitting office. Thus Saunders and Keppel, two naval commanders of great eminence, had been induced to remain at the Admiralty, where their services were much needed. The Duke of Portland was still lord-chamberlain, and Lord Besborough

postmaster. But within a quarter of a year, Lord Chatham had so effectually disgusted these men, that they all retired in deep disgust. In truth, his tone, submissive in the closet, was at this time insupportably tyrannical in the cabinet. His colleagues were merely his clerks for naval, financial, and diplomatic business. Conway, meek as he was, was on one occasion provoked into declaring that such language as Lord Chatham's had never been heard west of Constantinople, and was with difficulty prevented by Horace Walpole from resigning, and rejoining the standard of Lord Rockingham.

The breach which had been made in the government by the defection of so many of the Rockinghams, Chatham hoped to supply by the help of the Bedfords. But with the Bedfords he could not deal as he had dealt with other parties. It was to no purpose that he bade high for one or two members of the faction, in the hope of detaching them from the rest. They were to be had; but they were to be had only in the lot. There was indeed for a moment some wavering and some disputing among them. But at length the counsels of the shrewd and resolute Rigby prevailed. They determined to stand firmly together, and plainly intimated to Chatham that he must take them all, or that he should get none of them. The event proved that they were wiser in their generation than any other connection in the state. In a few months they were able to dictate their own terms.

The most important public measure of Lord Chatham's administration was his celebrated interference with the corn-trade. The harvest had been bad; the price of food was high; and he thought it necessary to take on himself the responsibility of laying an embargo on the exportation of grain. When Parliament met, this proceeding was attacked by the opposition as unconstitutional, and defended by the ministers as indispensably necessary. At last, an act was passed to indemnify all who had been concerned in the embargo.

The first words uttered by Chatham, in the House of Lords, were in defence of his conduct on this occasion. He spoke with a calmness, sobriety, and dignity, well suited to the audience which he was addressing. A subsequent speech which he made on the same subject was less successful. He bade defiance to aristocratical connections, with a superciliousness to which the Peers were not accustomed, and with tones and gestures better suited to a large and stormy assembly than to the body of which he was now a member. A short altercation followed, and he was told very plainly that he should not be suffered to browbeat the old nobility of England.

It gradually became clearer and clearer that he was in a dis-

tempered state of mind. His attention had been drawn to the territorial acquisitions of the East India Company, and he determined to bring the whole of that great subject before Parliament. He would not, however, confer on the subject with any of his colleagues. It was in vain that Conway, who was charged with the conduct of business in the House of Commons, and Charles Townshend, who was responsible for the direction of the finances, begged for some glimpse of light as to what was in contemplation. Chatham's answers were sullen and mysterious. He must decline any discussion with them; he did not want their assistance; he had fixed on a person to take charge of his measure in the House of Commons. This person was a member who was not connected with the government, and who neither had, nor deserved to have, the ear of the House—a noisy, purseproud, illiterate demagogue, whose Cockney English and scraps of mispronounced Latin were the jest of the newspapers, Alderman Beckford. It may well be supposed that these strange proceedings produced a ferment through the whole political world. The city was in commotion. The East India Company invoked the faith of charters. Burke thundered against the ministers. The ministers looked at each other, and knew not what to say. In the midst of the confusion, Lord Chatham proclaimed himself gouty, and retired to Bath. It was announced, after some time, that he was better, that he would shortly return, that he would soon put every thing in order. A day was fixed for his arrival in London. But when he reached the Castle inn at Marlborough, he stopped, shut himself up in his room, and remained there some weeks. Every body who travelled that road was amazed by the number of his attendants. Footmen and grooms, dressed in his family livery, filled the whole inn, though one of the largest in England, and swarmed in the streets of the little town. The truth was, that the invalid had insisted that, during his stay, all the waiters and stable-boys of the Castle should wear his livery.

His colleagues were in despair. The Duke of Grafton proposed to go down to Marlborough in order to consult the oracle. But he was informed that Lord Chatham must decline all conversation on business. In the mean time, all the parties which were out of office, Bedfords, Grenvilles, and Rockinghams, joined to oppose the distracted government on the vote for the land-tax. They were reinforced by almost all the county members, and had a considerable majority. This was the first time that a ministry had been beaten on an important division in the House of Commons since the fall of Sir Robert Walpole. The administration, thus furiously assailed from without, was torn

by internal dissensions. It had been formed on no principle whatever. From the very first, nothing but Chatham's authority had prevented the hostile contingents which made up his ranks from going to blows with each other. That authority was now withdrawn, and every thing was in commotion. Conway, a brave soldier, but in civil affairs the most timid and irresolute of men, afraid of disobliging the King, afraid of being abused in the newspapers, afraid of being thought factious if he went out, afraid of being thought interested if he stayed in, afraid of every thing, and afraid of being known to be afraid of any thing, was beaten backwards and forwards like a shuttlecock between Horace Walpole who wished to make him prime minister, and Lord John Cavendish who wished to draw him into opposition. Charles Townshend, a man of splendid talents, of lax principles, and of boundless vanity and presumption, would submit to no control. The full extent of his parts, of his ambition, and of his arrogance, had not yet been made manifest; for he had always quailed before the genius and the lofty character of Pitt. But now that Pitt had quitted the House of Commons, and seemed to have abdicated the part of chief minister, Townshend broke loose from all restraint.

While things were in this state, Chatham at length returned to London. He might as well have remained at Marlborough. He would see nobody. He would give no opinion on any public matter. The Duke of Grafton begged piteously for an interview, for an hour, for half an hour, for five minutes. The answer was, that it was impossible. The King himself repeatedly condescended to expostulate and implore. 'Your duty,' he wrote, 'your own honour, require you to make an effort.' The answers to these appeals were commonly written in Lady Chatham's hand, from her lord's dictation; for he had not energy even to use a pen. He flings himself at the King's feet. He is penetrated by the royal goodness, so signally shown to the most unhappy of men. He implores a little more indulgence. He cannot as yet transact business. He cannot see his colleagues. Least of all can he bear the excitement of an interview with majesty.

Some were half inclined to suspect that he was, to use a military phrase, malingering. He had made, they said, a great blunder, and had found it out. His immense popularity, his high reputation for statesmanship, were gone for ever. Intoxicated by pride, he had undertaken a task beyond his abilities. He now saw nothing before him but distresses and humiliations; and he had therefore simulated illness, in order to escape from vexations which he had not fortitude to meet. This suspicion, though it derived some colour from that weakness which was the most striking blemish of his character, was certainly unfounded. His

mind, before he became first minister, had been, as we have said, in an unsound state; and physical and moral causes now concurred to make the derangement of his faculties complete. The gout, which had been the torment of his whole life, had been suppressed by strong remedies. For the first time since he was a boy at Oxford, he passed several months without a twinge. But his hand and foot had been relieved at the expense of his nerves. He became melancholy, fanciful, irritable. The embarrassing state of public affairs, the grave responsibility which lay on him, the consciousness of his errors, the disputes of his colleagues, the savage clamours raised by his detractors, bewildered his enfeebled mind. One thing alone, he said, could save him. He must repurchase Hayes. The unwilling consent of the new occupant was extorted by Lady Chatham's entreaties and tears; and her lord was somewhat easier. But if business were mentioned to him, he, once the proudest and boldest of mankind, behaved like a hysterical girl, trembled from head to foot, and burst into a flood of tears.

His colleagues for a time continued to entertain the expectation that his health would soon be restored, and that he would emerge from his retirement. But month followed month, and still he remained hidden in mysterious seclusion, and sunk, as far as they could learn, in the deepest dejection of spirits. They at length ceased to hope or to fear any thing from him; and, though he was still nominally Prime Minister, took without scruple steps which they knew to be diametrically opposed to all his opinions and feelings, allied themselves with those whom he had proscribed, disgraced those whom he most esteemed, and laid taxes on the colonies, in the face of the strong declarations which he had recently made.

When he had passed about a year and three quarters in gloomy privacy, the King received a few lines in Lady Chatham's hand. They contained a request, dictated by her lord, that he might be permitted to resign the Privy Seal. After some civil show of reluctance, the resignation was accepted. Indeed Chatham was, by this time, almost as much forgotten as if he had already been lying in Westminster Abbey.

At length the clouds which had gathered over his mind broke and passed away. His gout returned, and freed him from a more cruel malady. His nerves were newly braced. His spirits became buoyant. He woke as from a sickly dream. It was a strange recovery. Men had been in the habit of talking of him as of one dead, and, when he first showed himself at the King's levee, started as if they had seen a ghost. It was more than two years and a half since he had appeared in public.

He, too, had cause for wonder, The world which he now

entered was not the world which he had quitted. The administration which he had formed had never been, at any one moment, entirely changed. But there had been so many losses and so many accessions, that he could scarcely recognise his own work. Charles Townshend was dead. Lord Shelburne had been dismissed. Conway had sunk into utter insignificance. The Duke of Grafton had fallen into the hands of the Bedfords. The Bedfords had deserted Grenville, had made their peace with the King and the King's friends, and had been admitted to office. Lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was rising fast in importance. Corsica had been given up to France without a struggle. The disputes with the American colonies had been revived. A general election had taken place. Wilkes had returned from exile, and, outlaw as he was, had been chosen knight of the shire for Middlesex. The multitude was on his side. The Court was obstinately bent on ruining him, and was prepared to shake the very foundations of the constitution for the sake of a paltry revenge. The House of Commons, assuming to itself an authority which of right belongs only to the whole legislature, had declared Wilkes incapable of sitting in Parliament. Nor had it been thought sufficient to keep him out. Another must be brought in. Since the freeholders of Middlesex had obstinately refused to choose a member acceptable to the Court, the House had chosen a member for them. This was not the only instance, perhaps not the most disgraceful instance, of the inveterate malignity of the Court. Exasperated by the steady opposition of the Rockingham party, the King's friends had tried to rob a distinguished Whig nobleman of his private estate, and had persisted in their mean wickedness till their own servile majority had revolted from mere disgust and shame. Discontent had spread throughout the nation, and was kept up by stimulants such as had rarely been applied to the public mind. Junius had taken the field, had trampled Sir William Draper in the dust, had wellnigh broken the heart of Blackstone, and had so mangled the reputation of the Duke of Grafton that his grace had become sick of office, and was beginning to look wistfully towards the shades of Euston. Every principle of foreign, domestic, and colonial policy which was dear to the heart of Chatham, had, during the eclipse of his genius, been violated by the government which he had formed.

The remaining years of his life were spent in vainly struggling against that fatal policy which, at the moment when he might have given it a death-blow, he had been induced to take under his protection. His exertions redeemed his own fame, but they effected little for his country.

He found two parties arrayed against the government, the party of his own brothers-in-law, the Grenvilles, and the party of Lord Rockingham. On the question of the Middlesex election these parties were agreed. But on many other important questions they differed widely; and they were, in truth, not less hostile to each other than to the court. The Grenvilles had, during several years, annoyed the Rockinghams with a succession of acrimonious pamphlets. It was long before the Rockinghams could be induced to retaliate. But an ill-natured tract, written under Grenville's direction, and entitled a *State of the Nation*, was too much for their patience. Burke undertook to defend and avenge his friends, and executed the task with admirable skill and vigour. On every point he was victorious, and nowhere more completely victorious than when he joined issue on those dry and minute questions of statistical and financial detail in which the main strength of Grenville lay. The official drudge, even on his own chosen ground, was utterly unable to maintain the fight against the great orator and philosopher. When Chatham reappeared, Grenville was still writhing with the recent shame and smart of this well-merited chastisement. Cordial co-operation between the two sections of the opposition was impossible. Nor could Chatham easily connect himself with either. His feelings, in spite of many affronts given and received, drew him towards the Grenvilles. For he had strong domestic affections; and his nature, which, though haughty, was by no means obdurate, had been softened by affliction. But from his kinsmen he was separated by a wide difference of opinion on the question of colonial taxation. A reconciliation, however, took place. He visited Stowe: he shook hands with George Grenville; and the Whig freeholders of Buckinghamshire, at their public dinners, drank many bumpers to the union of the three brothers.

In opinions, Chatham was much nearer to the Rockinghams than to his own relatives. But between him and the Rockinghams there was a gulf not easily to be passed. He had deeply injured them, and, in injuring them, had deeply injured his country. When the balance was trembling between them and the court, he had thrown the whole weight of his genius, of his renown, of his popularity, into the scale of misgovernment. It must be added, that many eminent members of the party still retained a bitter recollection of the asperity and disdain with which they had been treated by him at the time when he assumed the direction of affairs. It is clear from Burke's pamphlets and speeches, and still more clear from his private letters, and from the language which he held in conversation, that he long

regarded Chatham with a feeling not far removed from dislike. Chatham was undoubtedly conscious of his error, and desirous to atone for it. But his overtures of friendship, though made with earnestness, and even with unwonted humility, were at first received by Lord Rockingham with cold and austere reserve. Gradually the intercourse of the two statesmen became courteous and even amicable. But the past was never wholly forgotten.

Chatham did not, however, stand alone. Round him gathered a party, small in number, but strong in great and various talents. Lord Camden, Lord Shelburne, Colonel Barré, and Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, were the principal members of this connection.

There is no reason to believe that, from this time till within a few weeks of Chatham's death, his intellect suffered any decay. His eloquence was almost to the last heard with delight. But it was not exactly the eloquence of the House of Lords. That lofty and passionate, but somewhat desultory declamation in which he excelled all men, and which was set off by looks, tones, and gestures, worthy of Garrick or Talma, was out of place in a small apartment where the audience often consisted of three or four drowsy prelates, three or four old judges, accustomed during many years to disregard rhetoric, and to look only at facts and arguments, and three or four listless and supercilious men of fashion, whom any thing like enthusiasm moved to a sneer. In the House of Commons, a flash of his eye, a wave of his arm, had sometimes cowed Murray. But, in the House of Peers, his utmost vehemence and pathos produced less effect than the moderation, the reasonableness, the luminous order, and the serene dignity, which characterized the speeches of Lord Mansfield.

On the question of the Middlesex election, all the three divisions of the opposition acted in concert. No orator in either House defended what is now universally admitted to have been the constitutional cause with more ardour or eloquence than Chatham. Before this subject had ceased to occupy the public mind, George Grenville died. His party rapidly melted away ; and in a short time most of his adherents appeared on the ministerial benches.

Had George Grenville lived many months longer, the friendly ties which, after years of estrangement and hostility, had been renewed between him and his brother-in-law, would, in all probability, have been a second time violently dissolved. For now the quarrel between England and the North American colonies took a gloomy and terrible aspect. Oppression provoked resistance ; resistance was made the pretext for fresh oppression. The

warnings of all the greatest statesmen of the age were lost on an imperious court and a deluded nation. Soon a colonial senate confronted the British Parliament. Then the colonial militia crossed bayonets with the British regiments. At length the commonwealth was torn asunder. Two millions of Englishmen, who, fifteen years before, had been as loyal to their prince and as proud of their country as the people of Kent or Yorkshire, separated themselves by a solemn act from the Empire. For a time it seemed that the insurgents would struggle to small purpose against the vast financial and military means of the mother country. But disasters, following one another in rapid succession, rapidly dispelled the illusions of national vanity. At length a great British force, exhausted, famished, harassed on every side by a hostile peasantry, was compelled to deliver up its arms. Those governments which England had, in the late war, so signally humbled, and which had during many years been sullenly brooding over the recollections of Quebec, of Minden, and of the Moro, now saw with exultation that the day of revenge was at hand. France recognised the independence of the United States; and there could be little doubt that the example would soon be followed by Spain.

Chatham and Rockingham had cordially concurred in opposing every part of the fatal policy which had brought the state into this dangerous situation. But their paths now diverged. Lord Rockingham thought, and, as the event proved, thought most justly, that the revolted colonies were separated from the Empire for ever, and that the only effect of prolonging the war on the American continent would be to divide resources which it was desirable to concentrate. If the hopeless attempt to subjugate Pennsylvania and Virginia were abandoned, war against the house of Bourbon might possibly be avoided, or, if inevitable, might be carried on with success and glory. We might even indemnify ourselves for part of what we had lost, at the expense of those foreign enemies who had hoped to profit by our domestic dissensions. Lord Rockingham, therefore, and those who acted with him, conceived that the wisest course now open to England, was to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to turn her whole force against her European enemies.

Chatham, it should seem, ought to have taken the same side. Before France had taken any part in our quarrel with the colonies, he had repeatedly, and with great energy of language, declared that it was impossible to conquer America; and he could not without absurdity maintain that it was easier to conquer France and America together than America alone. But his passions overpowered his judgment, and made him blind to his

own inconsistency. The very circumstances which made the separation of the colonies inevitable, made it to him altogether insupportable. The dismemberment of the Empire seemed to him less ruinous and humiliating, when produced by domestic dissensions, than when produced by foreign interference. His blood boiled at the degradation of his country. Whatever lowered her among the nations of the earth, he felt as a personal outrage to himself. And the feeling was natural. He had made her so great. He had been so proud of her; and she had been so proud of him. He remembered how, more than twenty years before, in a day of gloom and dismay, when her possessions were torn from her, when her flag was dishonoured, she had called on him to save her. He remembered the sudden and glorious change which his energy had wrought, the long series of triumphs, the days of thanksgiving, the nights of illumination. Fired by such recollections, he determined to separate himself from those who advised that the independence of the colonies should be acknowledged. That he was in error, will scarcely, we think, be disputed by his warmest admirers. Indeed, the treaty by which, a few years later, the republic of the United States was recognised, was the work of his most attached adherents and of his favourite son.

The Duke of Richmond had given notice of an address to the throne, against the further prosecution of hostilities with America. Chatham had, during some time, absented himself from Parliament, in consequence of his growing infirmities. He determined to appear in his place on this occasion, and to declare that his opinions were decidedly at variance with those of the Rockingham party. He was in a state of great excitement. His medical attendants were uneasy, and strongly advised him to calm himself, and to remain at home. But he was not to be controlled. His son William, and his son-in-law Lord Mahon, accompanied him to Westminster. He rested himself in the Chancellor's room till the debate commenced, and then, leaning on his two young relations, limped to his seat. The slightest particulars of that day were remembered, and have been carefully recorded. He bowed, it was remarked, with great courtliness to those peers who rose to make way for him and his supporters. His crutch was in his hand. He wore, as was his fashion, a rich velvet coat. His legs were swathed in flannel. His wig was so large, and his face so emaciated, that none of his features could be discerned except the high curve of nose, and his eyes, which still retained a gleam of the old fire.

When the Duke of Richmond had spoken, Chatham rose. For some time his voice was inaudible. At length his tones became distinct and his action animated. Here and there his

hearers caught a thought or an expression which reminded them of William Pitt. But it was clear that he was not himself. He lost the thread of his discourse, hesitated, repeated the same words several times, and was so confused, that in speaking of the Act of Settlement, he could not recall the name of the Electress Sophia. The House listened in solemn silence, and with the aspect of profound respect and compassion. The stillness was so deep that the dropping of a handkerchief would have been heard. The Duke of Richmond replied with great tenderness and courtesy; but, while he spoke, the old man was observed to be restless and irritable. The Duke sat down. Chatham stood up again, pressed his hand on his breast, and sank down in an apoplectic fit. Three or four lords who sat near him caught him in his fall. The House broke up in confusion. The dying man was carried to the residence of one of the officers of Parliament, and was so far restored as to be able to bear a journey to Hayes. At Hayes, after lingering a few weeks, he expired in his seventieth year. His bed was watched to the last, with anxious tenderness, by his wife and children; and he well deserved their care. Too often haughty and wayward to others, to them he had been almost effeminately kind. He had through life been dreaded by his political opponents, and regarded with more awe than love even by his political associates. But no fear seems to have mingled with the affection which his fondness, constantly overflowing in a thousand endearing forms, had inspired in the little circle at Hayes.

Chatham, at the time of his decease, had not, in both Houses of Parliament, ten personal adherents. Half the public men of the age had been estranged from him by his errors, and the other half by the exertions which he had made to repair his errors. His last speech had been an attack at once on the policy pursued by the government, and on the policy recommended by the opposition. But death at once restored him to his old place in the affection of his country. Who could hear unmoved of the fall of that which had been so great, and which had stood so long? The circumstances, too, seemed rather to belong to the tragic stage than to real life. A great statesman, full of years and honours, led forth to the senate-house by a son of rare hopes, and stricken down in full council while straining his feeble voice to rouse the drooping spirit of his country, could not but be remembered with peculiar veneration and tenderness. Detraction was overawed. The voice even of just and temperate censure was mute. Nothing was remembered but the lofty genius, the unsullied probity, the undisputed services, of him who was no more. For once, all parties were agreed. A public funeral, a public monument, were

eagerly voted. The debts of the deceased were paid. A provision was made for his family. The city of London requested that the remains of the great man whom she had so long loved and honoured might rest under the dome of her magnificent cathedral. But the petition came too late. Every thing was already prepared for the interment in Westminster Abbey.

Though men of all parties had concurred in decreeing posthumous honours to Chatham, his corpse was attended to the grave almost exclusively by opponents of the government. The banner of the lordship of Chatham was borne by Colonel Barré, attended by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham. Burke, Savile, and Dunning upheld the pall. Lord Camden was conspicuous in the procession. The chief mourner was young William Pitt. After the lapse of more than twenty-seven years, in a season as dark and perilous, his own shattered frame and broken heart were laid, with the same pomp, in the same consecrated mould.

Chatham sleeps near the northern door of the Church, in a spot which has ever since been appropriated to statesmen, as the other end of the same transept has long been to poets. Mansfield rests there, and the second William Pitt, and Fox, and Grattan, and Canning, and Wilberforce. In no other Cemetery do so many great citizens lie within so narrow a space. High over those venerable graves towers the stately monument of Chatham, and from above, his own effigy, graven by a cunning hand, seems still, with eagle face and outstretched arm, to bid England be of good cheer, and to hurl defiance at her foes. The generation which reared that memorial of him has disappeared. The time has come when the rash and indiscriminate judgments which his contemporaries passed on his character may be calmly revised by history. And history, while, for the warning of vehement, high, and daring natures, she notes his many errors, will yet deliberately pronounce, that, among the eminent men whose bones lie near his, scarcely one has left a more stainless, and none a more splendid name.

No. CLXIII. will be published in January.

NOTE.

*NOTE to the Article, in No. CLX., on Tucker's Life of
Admiral Lord St Vincent.*

IN reviewing this work we, as illustrative of the peculiar and characteristic manner in which Lord St Vincent was sometimes wont to convey a rebuke to an officer with whose conduct he was displeased, extracted an anecdote, in substance as follows:—A certain Rear-Admiral, in command of the in-shore squadron, who had been directed to watch the French fleet, in a bay on the French coast, made some representation to the Chief as to the obstacles presented by the shoaliness of the coast; upon which, the old Admiral, in order to show the groundlessness of that representation, led the main body of the fleet within the Rear-Admiral's squadron, sailed round him, and out again. We had, from circumstances, been led to think, that this Rear-Admiral, whose name Mr Tucker did not think fit, in reciting the anecdote, to insert, was the late Honourable George Berkeley, one of four Rear-Admirals in the fleet; and we accordingly named him as the Rear-Admiral alluded to. We have lately been informed, on adequate authority, that our conjecture was wholly groundless; and we therefore feel ourselves in fairness bound to acknowledge, and to apologise for the mistake into which we had fallen, and which we rather unwarily committed to the press.

ERRATA in No. CLXI.

- Page 229, line 25, *for* "This good and heroic Prince," *read* "The good and heroic Louis IX."
- 254, line 5 from bottom, *for* "the level of his speech," *read* "the level of his opinion."
- 258, line 10, *for* "distorting, perhaps in the attempt to revive them," *read* "distorting inevitably, in the attempt to revive them."
- 269, line 3, *for* "the almost brotherly love," *read* "the love."

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